

Jean Terrasson.

THE
L I F E
O F
S E T H O S.

TAKEN FROM
PRIVATE MEMOIRS
OF THE
Ancient *EGYPTIANS*.

Translated from a *Greek* MANUSCRIPT
into FRENCH.

And now faithfully done into *English* from
the *Paris* EDITION;

By Mr. *LEDIARD*.

L O N D O N :


Printed for J. WALTHOE, over-against the
Royal-Exchange in *Cornhill*.

M.DCC.XXXII.



THE
PREFACE.



 *HE Greek Manuscript, of which I here offer the Publick a Translation, was found in the library of a foreign nation, extremely jealous of this sort of treasure. Those who procured me the reading of it would admit of my publishing this Translation upon no other terms, but that of concealing the library in which the Original is deposited. The author is no where named: But we find by several Passages in this work, that he was a Greek born, and lived at Alexandria, under the reign of Marcus Aurelius.*



THE

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THERE is no room to doubt but this work is a fiction. The event of sundry enterprizes proving in a manner such as a reader would wish or hope, the unexpected return and rencounter of several personages, but above all, the great number of discourses directly from the Persons themselves, sufficiently evince, that our author has not tied himself down to such real facts, which the common circumstances of life make liable to a greater confusion; and that he takes upon him the entire disposal, not only of the actions, but even of the thoughts of those persons he brings upon the stage.

THE particular advantage, which he proposed to himself, obliged him to employ his pen in this kind of writing. History, properly so call'd, has beyond dispute its excellencies. It is an Improvement of the Mind, which we expect from every one who undertakes to cultivate education. History is essential to the professions of some, and a recreation almost universally coveted by others, whose main business seems the most distant from it. It is one of the chief springs of true philosophy, by the knowledge it gives us of human passions and prejudices. It is accounted the most sure guide in politicks, by furnishing one single person with the experience of all preceding ages.

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ages. In short, it is looked upon by some as a great foundation of moral instructions, by the reiterated examples it lays before us of good and evil.

BUT with regard to this last property; I believe, when we come to examine the matter narrowly, we shall find history fall far short of fiction; when the latter is employed in such a manner as becomes every prudent writer; that is, with an Eye to form the manners of men. History, in itself, is but a collection of facts, guided by providence, for ends generally unknown to us: and tho' every thing be wonderfully well ordered, pursuant to the mysterious views of the divine wisdom and justice; the consequences of mens actions are frequently to our eyes but a series of disappointed projects and crimes unpunished. A view of what has happened in the world is, strictly speaking, no other than a view of what passes in a place of publick resort, neither the one nor the other is in any-wise moral but by the reflections of the spectator or relator. In a Word, mere history is rather an object than a doctrine.

BUT in a fictitious work the case is very different. The moral Author, if his undertaking be narrative, generally makes it his business to represent his hero adorned with all the virtues proper to his state and condition.

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dition. He places him in all such circumstances as may give him room to exercise these virtues. He sets him in opposition not only to wicked men, but to such whose virtues are weak and wavering; that their different characters may make that of his hero shine forth with the greater lustre. His images are accompanied with judgments already formed, and explicit advices. In a word, his instructions are rendered perfect, as well by doctrine as example. We might combine and melt down numbers of the great Men in history, and unite the events of many ages; before we should find those materials for wonder and imitation, which a judicious author of a fiction will often produce in but a small part of the life of one single hero.

*THE two works we have hitherto seen of this kind, Telemachus and the Travels of Cyrus perfectly answer this idea. It is not a comparison with history, which is of a quite different nature, but a comparison of good fictitious works, which will more and more discover the pernicious folly of romances, when by that term we mean an advantageous, or if but a favourable representation of the frailties or disorders of love. But a yet more important effect of good fiction will be to explode false heroism. That cruel ambition and implacable revenge celebrated by so many orators and poets under the epithet of valour, will be divested of the lustre they have clothed it with, and we shall soon look upon
whatever*

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whatever has contributed to raise these false virtues to such an eminence, as the deceitful beauties of eloquence, or poetry.

THIS happy effect seems to be already infused in the minds of men. The spoil of nations does now no longer appear an object of emulation; at least among civilized people. Panegyrics upon conquests and devastations are no more patterns in the education of princes; and good poets have done with extolling them for making arms alone their pastime. I find no reason to repent of what I formerly said speaking of Telemachus: That if the happiness of mankind could be said to arise from a poem, it would be from that. And tho' princes may not often apply themselves much to reading, yet those who have the care of their education, knowing as well the origine as progress of learning, don't suffer them to be ignorant, either in those principles of morality or maxims of lenity, which even their own times may have produced and established. Princes now ascend the throne endued with a knowledge of true glory, and imbibing the very same sentiments on this head with the publick, they concur in supporting it in that tranquility and happiness which is expected from them.

A peace, the long continuance of which has no precedent in our history, is unquestionably owing to the wisdom of a great minister. And the French nation acknowledges all the obli-

gations due to him for that unwearied administration which is the support of their tranquillity. But the princes he has to treat with would perhaps more strenuously oppose his measures, if an education advanced by a work, which is of service to all the kings in the universe, had not reconciled them to the same dispositions of mind as the young and august monarch, in whose kingdoms Telemachus took its birth. If we are allowed to assert, that the encrease of literature has introduced a politeness and good taste in all the courts and cities of Europe, we may justly attribute, at least in part, that fondness for peace, which at this time seems to be the favourite passion of all nations, to those works which contain an excellent moral, set off with all the embellishments that can render it agreeable. We may certainly number them among the causes of that just and pacifick temper of mind, which every one is seemingly big with, and which by degrees extirpates those animosities among nations, which the bare remoteness of their former inducements, began to render unjust and reproachful; and in the place of which a mutual value for the virtues, talents, and every commendable quality of their neighbours is daily substituted.

A natural consequence of the success of Telemachus next to reforming our judgments, and softening our manners, ought to be laying a found-

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a foundation for a new kind of work. The first poems of antiquity produced imitations of the same form and denomination, as Epopeas, Tragedies, Idylls and the like; but the author of Telemachus has only been imitated in the essential part; that is by the same intention or zeal to produce the same effects. Thus Telemachus is an epick poem; but the Travels of Cyrus, in conformity to their title, contain only the hero's rambles in search of instructions from all the wise men of his times, in order to introduce into his own dominions whatever he found good and profitable in the different customs of the most celebrated kingdoms and commonwealths.

THE Work before us is, with regard to the moral design of it, of the same species with both; but more different in the form of it, than they are one from the other. They are both properly a system of education: and tho' Cyrus was more advanced in years than Telemachus; both heroes only treasured up instructions for practice, or made trial of what they were to put in use; the former in the management of a little kingdom, and the latter in the government of a vast empire. My author, on the contrary, displays a compleat life, or the actual application of those principles and sentiments, which his hero had imbibed in the course of a most excellent education. So that in this history, which is divided into

ten books, the hero, from the fourth, is in a condition to instruct others; and in the whole sequel acts alone upon his own motives. Mov'd by a true heroism, he employs the time of a tedious exile in the quest of unknown people, whom he frees from the bondage of the most barbarous superstitions, and becomes their law-giver. In his return, he, by his valour, relieves a mighty republick from an enemy, that was at its very gates; but demands no other reward for his labour, than the preservation of the people he had vanquished, whose king or tyrant had been the aggressor. Being at last returned into his native country, he becomes a benefactor to those he had reason to look upon as his enemies and rivals; rejoicing in those junctures, which engaged his honour to sacrifice his own interest to theirs, and made the happiness he obtained for them his duty.

SETHOS is not alone virtuous by a natural disposition or from a habit. The motives of his conduct are drawn from durable and enlightened principles, which he displays in different rencounters. And he forms to himself such decisions, as, tho' always tending towards the highest perfection, and even to heroism, are more recommendable by their accuracy than their severity. Hence we have reason to suppose, that, our author, who liv'd in the second century, had some knowledge of morals far superior to those of paganism. From these morals, it is very plain
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he borrows those adequate definitions of the virtues and vices, which he sometimes puts into the mouth of his hero, and some others of his personages. And upon this it is I build the confidence I have in affirming, that this work contains a more refined and profound moral than has hitherto been seen in any book, the product of mere literature, or of the number of those which may be stild prophane.

AS our author, however, leaves his hero a pagan; he confines himself, in this history or life, wholly to moral virtues; and the recommendation of such to the practice of mankind is not without its advantage. It is by means of them, if I may be allowed the expression, we can have intercourse with the manners of those nations, who differ the most from us in point of religion. It is by them, that even in religion itself, we are able to keep up that humanity and probity, so necessary for the publick good, in men who have the unhappiness of not enough perceiving those motives of another kind, which are of greater importance to them. To conclude, by them we can shew those too zealous persons, who seem to despise such virtues as are merely moral, that christian virtues are in regard to moral virtues what faith is with respect to reason; superior, but never contradictory.

ANOTHER of our author's views has been to lay hold of the opportunity of an Egyptian

tion hero to throw into his work a great number of learned curiosities, concerning that once so famous people: And farther, as he makes his hero travel over a great part of the globe, he had carefully got together the primary notions of the ancient geography. This was, without doubt, one of his reasons for giving his work the turn of a history or life, preferable to that of a poem or romance. In reality, the examples of Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus, and especially of Plutarch, sufficiently justified his inserting in this narrative, not only political or military antiquities, but even historical passages relating to the rise and progress of human knowledge. These great writers looked upon such digressions as very curious for the common part of readers, who want time or patience to have recourse to other springs.

I must own, however, that upon a view of my whole translation, I began to fear the inconveniency of interruptions, either too frequent or too prolix, in a life built upon fable, the contexture of whose parts ought to render it more engaging than common lives. Of all the particulars on this head in the original, I have therefore only preserved such as were necessary to give an adequate idea of the education of a hero, who stood in need of great lights, to undertake a very long voyage, not before attempted; and then to give proper laws

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laws to the different nations, which were civilized by him. The academies of Memphis, which he frequents in his most tender youth, and the observatory of Thebes, which he visits before he imbarks for his voyage, were preparations essential to the carrying on of this design. And so the reader will find a plan of the former in the first book, and a sketch of the other in the fifth. But even in these hints I have considerably abridged our author's historical comparison between the sciences of the Egyptians and those of Greece.

NEVERTHELESS, the general impression which will arise from the body of the work, is sufficient to give even a pretty extensive idea of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and some other nations: And even the fiction will be no hindrance to a search into the grounds of their understanding and manners. Many people have no other notion of the Greeks and Romans but what they have taken from Tragedy; and a certain principle, not very easy to define, teaches them to distinguish that which may reasonably be supposed to be true from what is probably the product of invention only. This advantage has been improved even in romances, and the ninth part of Cleopatra gives us as faithful a picture of the recesses of Augustus's court, as we could expect from the Abbot of St. Real. But here the reader will find plainer indications

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indications than are to be found either in tragedies or romances.

WE may at first view rely upon the particular circumstances, as well of Egypt as of other nations, which the author confirms by quoting any known writers. He seems himself to have separated the real from the fictitious, by alledging his anecdotal authors for those facts which are wholly the children of his own invention, or for such customs as are founded upon truth, but are refined and amplified in the relation. Fiction has a right of sacrificing the accuracy of facts, not only to moral virtues, but even to the embellishment of the narration; supposing besides that the end of such embellishment is to render the instruction more agreeable. An example of this conduct in our author, is the important article of initiation, which alone fills two whole books. But even this article is very conformable to the essential part of this renowned institution; as far as it could break thro' that rigid silence which cover'd it, and as we find any traces of it in those authors, either Pagan or Christian, who have mentioned it. The whole work is full of manners and customs, part of which I myself have confirmed by notes added to the text. As to some other less considerable passages, for the proof of which I have designedly avoided overcharging

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charging this work with quotations. I dare venture to affirm, that the more my readers may have examined, the more they will find our author agree with those testimonies which are either collected or dispersed in the different writings we have left of antiquity. For tho' my intent was to clear this work from all tedious erudition, I never designed to deprive it of the advantage and support of curious enquiries: but had always my author's chief aim in view, who adding his love for learning to that of virtue, looks upon literature in a nation, taken in general, as the source and support of every humane and civil virtue.

T O conclude, our author seems to have drawn all the probability, that can be expected from a fictitious writer, concerning the knowledge he could be supposed to have of the actions and sentiments of his hero, from the place where he lived. He is treating of an Egyptian prince, born in the century preceding the Trojan war, a time in which ancient Egypt was in its greatest splendor. Now this period so remote can have furnished no publick memoirs to any other writer either of Italy or Greece. But it is very natural to suppose that a citizen of Alexandria may have been master of memoirs taken in the confusion of war from the sacred archives of Egypt, and unknown even to the Egyptian priests

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priests of his times; and besides those priests who accompanied Sethos in his travels, may have been the authors of them. It was to give a like sanction to her history that Madam de Scudery in the preface to her Cyrus, a hero posterior to ours by seven or eight hundred years, studies to have it thought the translation of an ancient manuscript found in the Vatican library.

IN the second place, as our author mentions the sciences of the Egyptians only comparatively with those of the Greeks, from whom alone the Romans had any knowledge of ancient Egypt; the second century, or the latter end of the first, and the beginning of the second, in which he lived, was the most proper time for this comparison. A time which may justly be termed the most favourable to the sciences both for the Romans and Greeks, then under the same empire. M. de St. Evremont has already remarked that the days of Augustus were only noted for poetry; and that we must look something farther back for the days of eloquence. Our best writers in point of painting and sculpture, M. Felibien and M. de Piles, seem on the other hand to refer the period of sciences among the Romans, to that interval of time included in the reign of Vespasian and the Antonines. The names of Pliny, Ptolemy and Galienus alone give us reason to
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fix their greatest eminency thereabouts; and the reader will find in this life sundry evidences to prove, that Alexandria was then their principal seat, even for the Romans themselves. These considerations were sufficient to justify our author with regard to what I have thought proper to omit on this head, and may perhaps give him more credit with regard to that little I have retained.



L I C E N C E.

L I C E N C E.

By Order of the LORD KEEPER of the
SEALS, I have read a Manuscript, en-
titled: *The LIFE of SETHOS; taken
from private Memoirs of the ancient
Egyptians, translated from a Greek
Manuscript.* This Work, which con-
tains excellent Lessons of the most
refin'd Morality, and is full of solid,
and the most extensive Learning, can't
fail of being equally instructive and
curious.

Paris, Jan. 29. 1731.

Lancelot.

E R R A T A.

VOL. I. P. 64, l. 24. *read* advantage. 103, 6. *r.* adopted.
114, 2. *in the notes for his* *r.* the. 160, 2. *for lanes* *r.* lines.
185, 23. *r.* complaisance. 240, 16. *r.* I had, &c. 279, 9. *r.* the
discretion. 354, 5. *after ramparts add a* (,). 358, 13. *dele* (,).
383, 22. *dele* (,). 386, 19. *r.* ruling. 390, 3. *r.* companion.

VOL. II. P. 62, l. 5. *after settlement add* in the city. 68, 27.
r. predecessor. 275, 20. *r.* governor. 315, 18. *after they add*
likewise. 324, 2. *dele* (,) *after were, and place it after yet.*
341, 15. *after judge, add* only. 342, 1. *r.* besieger. 432, 24.
for still *r.* swell.



THE
L I F E
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B O O K I.



THE Egyptians, who go farther back in the relations of their origin than our histories reach, say the Gods were their first kings. They name seven: Vulcan, the Sun, Agathodemon, Saturn, Osiris, Isis and Typhon. By Vulcan, to whom they assign no beginning, their philosophers meant that elementary fire, which is diffused every where. This same fire, re-united into one globe, is the Sun, the son of Vulcan. Agathodemor, defin'd by his very name, was their good genius

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or

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or principle. Saturn, or Time, was the father of Osiris and Isis, brother and sister, husband and wife, the two sexes of nature. Typhon, their third brother, was always regarded by them as their evil principle.

HORUS was the son of Osiris and Isis, reason, or human wisdom, and he began the reign of the demi-gods. These were nine in number, Horus, Mars, Anubis, Hercules, Apollo, Ammon, Tithoes, Sosus, and Jupiter, or Menes. I shall not speak of every one of these in particular, most of them being pretty well known to the Greeks and Romans, even in their allegorical signification. I shall only observe, in order to set the times of my hero in a clearer light, that the latter of these demi-gods began the reign of men. He was indeed look'd upon but as a man in his life-time: but after having rul'd all Egypt alone by the name of Menes, he was, after his death, in consideration of his happy reign, number'd with the gods by the name of Jupiter. He had four sons, Thot or Mercury, Æsculapius, Athotes and Curudes, of which the two first were, as well as himself, advanced to the skies. Menes, to render the succession to his states equal, divided Egypt into four kingdoms. Mercury reign'd in Thebes, Æsculapius at Memphis, Athotes at This, and Curudes at Tanis. This was the rise of the four great Dynasties of Egypt, which were collateral or
cotem-

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cotemporary for sixteen hundred years, to the time of the famous Sesostris, king of Thebes, and conqueror of Asia. * The other Egyptian dynasties, which some historians mention, to the number of twenty, from the times of Menes to Sesostris, were but separate branches of these four chief divisions; and the different names they give them, as Heracleopolites, Xoites, Elephantins, and the like, were taken from the residence of some of the kings of each dynasty in different cities of the same kingdom.

As for the Shepherd Kings, who were foreigners, and having dwelt in Egypt during the space of three or four ages, seem to have interrupted this succession; they never had any settled possession on this side Tanis, on the borders of Delta, tho' they obliged the natural kings of those regions to retire to Heliopolis. But as these foreigners, originally Arabians, made frequent incursions into the other parts of Egypt, the Egyptians, being reunited, attack'd, and having vanquish'd them, oblig'd them, and their descendants, to furnish all Egypt with slaves. This victory was obtain'd near two hundred years before the birth of Sesostris, who found Egypt in a state of tranquillity, and made it very flourish-

* The preceding genealogies are conformable to those of Marsham; but what follows seems to agree with the chronology of father Pezron.

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ing. This hero had the ambition to set the god Osiris for his pattern, and like him, according to the Egyptian traditions, visited a great part of the earth, teaching the inhabitants to cultivate it, and to form agreeable and useful societies; thus Sesostris was the first king, of the race of men, who bore arms in Asia, and there introduced and establish'd the laws and sciences of Egypt. He even rul'd all the four kingdoms of Egypt, not indeed by a sovereign power, but by the superiority of his genius, his virtues and reputation.

HIS first successors supported for a time, especially with regard to foreign provinces, the splendor of so great an empire; and we find, about one hundred years after Sesostris, Mendes or Memnon, king of Thebes, ruler of Susa and Phrygia, chastizing the revolted Bactrians, and re-establishing order among the people conquer'd by his ancestor. But Rameesses, who succeeded Memnon, wanting both the courage and conduct of his forefathers, lost, by his weakness, all the conquer'd dominions, and, by his pride, a title which he had till then retain'd above the other kings of Egypt. His immediate predecessors having need of all their cunning as well as force, to keep the distant provinces under the yoke of obedience, had treated these kings with discretion, and had
not

not abus'd that right, which they perceived had in truth only devolv'd upon Sesostris, on account of his personal merit. But young Rameffes * soon discover'd his character by two obelisks, which he caus'd to be inscrib'd with titles so ostentatious and false, with regard to him, that in latter ages they have been thought to relate to Sesostris. This young prince, whose whole study was to deck himself with a vain and momentaneous glory, the ignominious consequences of which he never foresaw, took upon him to send these kings, who were now become his equals, his commands in form. But they soon gave him to understand, that they insisted upon Egypt's retaining its pristine form of four dynasties, which had been always independant since the four sons of Menes. They alledg'd, that Sesostris himself had not interrupted them: and that the kings their predecessors, in his life-time, reserving the royal title and dignities, had accepted of diverse regulations, by him proposed, only because they appear'd to be equally advantageous to the whole nation. Such was the division he had made of all Egypt into thirty-six nomes † or provinces, the particular governors of which could with greater ease keep a watchful eye over the productions of

* Kirk. Oed. Ægyp. tom. 4 p. 162. & Marsham, p. 431. ed. in fol.

† Diodorus, l. 1.

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nature and art, which they furnish for foreign commerce; and over the taxes they were in a condition to contribute in case of a general war. It was to him, they said, were owing those temples which were erected in each city, to the honour of its tutelar god; the wall which extended from Pelusa to Heliopolis, and put a stop to the inroads of the Syrians, and bordering Arabians of the deserts, a people under no manner of discipline; the great canal, by which a communication was open'd between the Mediterranean and the Red-sea, and the whole eastern and western commerce made to pass thro' Egypt; and lastly those dykes and sluices, which taking in the whole space from the Cataracts of the Nile, to its mouth or entrance into the sea, between the mountains of Libya, and the coasts of the red-sea, stopp'd or received, as occasion requir'd, the inundations of that river. But they added, that, all these undertakings being finished, they knew how to maintain them, each in his own dominions, without the advice of Rameses, from whom they absolutely refused to receive any commands. This opposition put an end to a dispute, which a king, more wise than he, might have kept undecided; and he was obliged to take up with the title of king of Thebes the great, which devolv'd to Sesostris by right of his ancestors.

ABOUT

ABOUT two hundred years after the death of Rameſſes, and fifty or ſixty years before the Trojan wars; Oſoroth, a prince advanced in years, ſucceeded to the crown of Memphis, a dynasty but little inferior in power to that of Thebes, but by far preferable to it with regard to the lenity of its climate, and the beauty of its ſituation. The city of Memphis, the metropolis of the dynasty, was ſituate on the weſtern bank of the Nile, near the place where that only river of Egypt divides itſelf into ſeven arms, of which thoſe two, which are at the greateſt diſtance one from the other, encloſe the Delta, and all together form ſeven mouths at their entrance into the great ocean (the Mediterranean.) All Egypt has, from the antienteſt account of time, been ſtil'd a gift of the Nile; being ſuppos'd to be only a heap of earth, which the waters of this river has ſucceſſively carry'd away with its ſtream from the ſouth to the north. But the formation of the Delta is held to be more recent: becauſe according to thoſe * monuments, which may well be look'd upon as hiſtorical truths, the Pharos of Alexandria, which is now join'd to the continent, was formerly twenty-four leagues diſtant from it in the ſea. This region is ſo delightful, that, according to fable, the gods form'd it upon

* Plin. lib. 2. c. 35. Sen. quaſt. nat. lib. 6. c. 26.

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the constellation of the triangle, which passes vertically over the Delta every Day in the year.

OSOROTH, not long before his accession to the throne, had marry'd Nephte, daughter of the king of This, a third dynasty, situate between Memphis and Thebes, to the west of the river Nile. Of this princess he soon had the prince, whose life I am about to write. He was the eldest of the three sons of Osoth, mentioned in the annals of † Manethon only by the name of the Anonymi. But tho' this famous historian was a priest, and even keeper of the sacred archives of Heliopolis; as he did not write till the reign of Ptolomeus Philadelphus, two hundred years after the devastation of Egypt by Cambyfes, the remains of those memoirs he was possess'd of were but very imperfect. I have, by means not to be related, discover'd those which are more ample, and have been preserv'd more entire; and which give to the first of these Anonymi of Manethon the name of Sethos, and the surname of Sofis, or Preserver, for a reason that will be shewn in the sequel of his life.

† See the Egyptian origines of Perizonius, p. 47. under the column, ex African. also the 38, and 49 pages, in which Manethon is alleg'd to be the first author of the sequels of Africanus and Eusebius.

THE

THE birth of this prince fill'd the whole kingdom with joy; so great was the love the people bore to their king, or rather to the queen, who, tho' but young in years, govern'd them with an admirable wisdom and goodness: For Oforoth, whose character it would be difficult to trace in one single picture, and which will not be well understood till towards the conclusion of this history, immediately entrusted the reins of government in the hands of the queen. This prince did not ascend the throne till the 50th year of his age: And king Sefonchis his father, more jealous of his present authority than attentive to the future felicity of his son and subjects, had kept him ignorant of the affairs of his realm, even to the moment he left him his successor. So Oforoth, having fortify'd his natural indolence by a life given up to sloth and inactivity, had no other taste of the sweets of royalty, but that of independency, and sought how to disburthen himself of the weight of government. This part fell, as it were of itself, into the hands of the queen, more capable than any other of receiving it; and what appear'd in the eye of the people to be a judicious choice, was in reality the mere effect of supineness in Oforoth. He was one of those kings, who being of themselves neither good nor bad, become the very best or worst of princes,
just

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just as they happen by mere accident to fall into the hands of good or wicked ministers: Unhappy the situation of a people subject to a prince whose very errors are without controul!

NEPHE, from the first dawn of her power, had fill'd her subjects with the hopes of a gentle government. They were the more sensible of it, as their deceas'd king, otherwise a great prince, was rigid and stern in his manners. The minds of the people were sensible of a relief, even before the queen had eas'd them in the publick burden; because, without diminishing the king's revenue, she had found means of rendring it less perceptible. Even the riches of private persons encreas'd by the confidence they plac'd in her, and in one another. She, at the same time, brought up her only son with all the affection of a mother, and the foresight of a wise queen. She earnestly desir'd to see him attain to that age in which she might, in her turn, deliver up to him that administration, which she look'd upon but as a trust committed to her charge. In the mean time she took as an assistant in the conduct of her affairs, an excellent person, call'd Amedes; who, tho' he had not in the late reign pass'd thro' all the offices of dignity wherewith he might have been invested, yet had acquitted himself with great honour in
several

several eminent stations, as well civil as military, and in negotiations with foreign princes; and who now advis'd the queen (as he had before the late king) to conceal from the publick the honour she did him, to avoid exciting the jealousy of the great, and that murmuring of the people, which is often rais'd against those ministers who are most zealous for the publick felicity. Hence the queen, reserving Amedes for her cabinet counsellor, without any title of note, preferr'd the best of her subjects, among those whom the different degrees of birth seem'd to present for every place that became vacant. Thus her sovereign authority was employ'd in distinguishing merit, without subverting order; and the number of the disaffected was very small, and even they were apprehensive of uttering those complaints, which they knew the voice of the publick would condemn.

WHILE the queen intirely devoted herself to affairs of state, the king gave himself up to all the amusements of a glittering court. But as these were never reliev'd by any thing serious, they could scarce keep him from uneasiness, and manifested in the king of a great people, a man whose very leisure sate heavy upon him. Among the ladies who were about him was one, whose name was Daluca, the widow of a great lord of the court. She had no children, and had already pass'd

pass'd those years in which the ladies only cultivate their beauty in order to carry on their gallantry, and was enter'd into those, in which they are studious of making the remains of it subservient to their ambition. This lady had form'd a design of gaining an ascendant over the king. The esteem and regard the queen was in had deterr'd every one else from the like attempt. Daluca herself, who was perfectly acquainted with Osoroth's temper, was very cautious of saying any thing to him against Nephte, that might excite any disagreeable emotions in his mind. She made it her business to be continually near him; and had the art of pleasing by that obsequiousness and those complacencies, which have by much a greater power over kings somewhat advanc'd in years, than youth and beauty, void of stratagem and private views. And she did not find it difficult to gain the favour of a prince so unguarded and indolent. She might perhaps have already rais'd her ambition to a greater height, upon observing that the queen was not in the best state of health. But without renouncing the view of a more remote happiness, her vanity was for the present satisfy'd by being a distinguish'd object among the courtiers, and by standing in some manner in competition with the queen.

NEPHE,

NEPHE, by the dignity of her person, as well as the situation of affairs, was far above the uneasinesses which generally affect those who perceive themselves invested only with a borrow'd power. Wherefore, tho' she soon observ'd the stratagems and intrigues of her rival, she fear'd nothing with regard to herself; but then her foresight laid her under the greater apprehensions for her son. He had then attain'd but his eighth year, and she saw with grief, that if she should be snatch'd away before his father had settled the succession upon him, the fate of this young prince would be deliver'd into the hands of the rash Daluca. The right of primogeniture was indeed establish'd in Egypt: But the choice of a father was of great weight; and history furnish'd more than one example of a second or third son being preferr'd to the eldest. And oftentimes this incertitude had been the occasion of quarrels among brothers, which the fortune of the sword could alone decide. Thus, tho' the queen had then no symptoms that foreboded any approaching distemper, yet the thoughts of a doubtful futurity cast her into great uneasinesses. Wherefore recommending her son, by means of the priests, to the protection of all the deities of Egypt, she apply'd herself with the greater earnestness to the performance of her duty, that she might

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might engage heaven to second intentions so worthy of her maternal care: but the gods, who are the sole arbiters of the rewards of the just, do not always dispense them in the course of this mortal life.

THE queen's too assiduous application to business, even beyond her strength, and perhaps her too great apprehension of sickness, caus'd her in a short time to fall into an indisposition, which, being at first but slight, she strove to conceal, in hopes of overcoming it. But the fever increasing, the distemper was soon look'd upon as a thing not to be trifled with; and the reflections she made upon the circumstances of her son, threw her into the utmost despair. Unhappy princess! cry'd she, whatever my fears have hitherto suggested is now coming to pass! Why must my life be of such moment to my son? Tho' in bloom of youth, I have tasted enough of the bitterness of life to leave it without regret, if no one else was concern'd; yet, alas! 'tis I who die; and 'tis I who mourn for my son! These words were follow'd by a torrent of tears, which heighten'd her disease, without alleviating her affliction. In vain her disconsolate damsels, who took care to keep the prince from her sight, study'd to appease her by persuasion and entreaty. Alas! said she, I plainly perceive by the confusion in your discourses, and the cruelty with which
you

you conceal my son from my eyes, that my fate is fix'd, and all hopes of a recovery lost. My son! my dearest son! cry'd she, in the greatest agitation of mind, thou alone makest death my terror! Death, who is the end of all others pain, is the origin of mine! I shall be deny'd even the peace of the grave! Madam, answer'd the most venerable of her attendants, who by her birth, virtue and affection was dearest to her, whither do the hurry of your thoughts carry you? Do you consider, that, by giving way, as you do, to an excess of grief, whereby you render your distemper mortal, which otherwise is but dangerous, you at the same time offend the providence of the gods, the sovereign arbiters of yours and your son's destiny? That virtue, madam, which you have hitherto strictly profess'd, is not perfectly distinguishable till exercis'd in such trials as this. Well, answer'd the queen, I submit to your advice, and devote myself with an absolute resignation to the will of the gods. Acquaint me only when the time of my dissolution approaches, that I may take my last measures with regard to my son, upon whose fate I foresee depends the happiness of my people.

THIS lady, whose friendship was sincere and resolute, having promis'd the queen what she demanded, Nephte from that moment endeavour'd to preserve her mind in a state
3 of

of tranquillity ; but the less visible her anxieties appear'd in her outward behaviour, the greater effect they had upon her mind.

IN the mean time the most celebrated physicians of the kingdom, who were then the priests, were assembled in the palace, even by order of the king ; tho', that it might not break in upon his pleasures, he always suppos'd the queen's distemper to be of no dangerous consequence. Egypt, the mother of arts and sciences, claim'd the honour, before all other, of having given birth to the medical art. Æsculapius, one of the sons of Menes, had even reign'd in Memphis, as we have already observ'd, while his brother Mercury was king of Thebes ; and the six volumes * which the former had compil'd upon physick, added to the six-and-thirty wherein Mercury had given the principles of all the other sciences, form'd that famous treasure of learning, by which the priests boasted of having been instructed by the gods themselves. Be that as it will, these physicians, truly accomplish'd in their art, put in practice, with regard to the queen, whatever their reading, reflexions, and experience could suggest. They at first treated her according to their ancient rules, which were enjoyn'd them under penalty of death : for

* Clem. Alex. Strom. 6.

every

every physician, who deviated from them, was answerable for his patient, and in case of ill success, the death of the one surely brought on the death of the other. This indeed often serv'd for a pretext to treat those patients, who were indifferent to them, with negligence, and not to exceed the letter of the law. But that concern with which they were sensibly affected for the preservation of a queen, such as Nephte, and the lamentations of a people, who recommended their sovereign, whom they styl'd their mother, soon engag'd them to have recourse to new remedies. They indeed disguis'd them under ancient names, whereby they found means to justify themselves by some of the innumerable instances with which their books were fill'd. They even by turns waited at the gate of the palace to hear all who might have any advice to offer for the queen's recovery: and afterwards gave their opinion of them in their consultations. For it was of importance to them in so critical a juncture, in some measure, to comply with an ancient custom, of placing their sick before the doors of their houses, that they might enquire of all who pass'd by, if they knew of any remedy for the distemper in question.

ON the other hand, the temples of the gods were open day and night to a vast concourse of people, who continually resorted thither to supplicate the recovery of their
VOL. I. C queen.

queen. They began at the † temple of Vulcan, built by Menes, the common ancestor of all the kings of Egypt, which had been preserv'd during the space of 1600 years in all the splendor it was left in by the founder. From thence they went to those of Serapis and Venus: But it was in the temple of Osiris, his wife Isis, and their son Horus, that they were the most assiduous, on account of the remarkable relation there happen'd to be between these three deities, and the persons of whom the royal family then consisted. The successive concourse of innumerable people continually fill'd not only the court, the porch, and body of the temple, but all the parts contiguous to the sanctuary, notwithstanding their large extent.

IN the middle of the sanctuary, upon a very high pedestal, and all of one single piece of cast metal, were plac'd these three deities, in such sort, that Osiris, whose image was the highest, held Isis * standing before him, and the Horus in the same manner: For what Strabo says of the temples of Egypt being without statues, or at most having only the figure of some animal in the middle of them, is not to be understood of the times antecedent to the invasion of Cambyfes. The

† Strab. l. 17. Herod. l. 2.

* Vid. Kirch. tom. 1. p. 117.

head of Osiris was incircled with a radiant sun. Isis was crown'd with a bushel, and had her face cover'd with a veil. Under her left arm she held an urn bow'd downwards, and at her feet lay the bird Ibis. And Horus was describ'd holding his finger upon his lips. There it was that numerous troops of musicians sung to slow musick, and in a mournful tone, hymns, taken from their ancient rites, and adapted to the present occasion.*

O Siris, pow'r, from earliest times, that springs,
Victor and patron of this mighty ball,
Branch of our gods, and stem of all our kings,
Husband of Isis, sovereign lord of all :
Save from too hard, but, ah ! impending fate,
A pious monarch's wife and watchful mate,
Religion's prop, and safeguard of the state.

Isis, sole goddess ; thro' the world ador'd ;
In mysteries conceal'd ; in bounties seen ;
One deity by various names implor'd,
In various places ; of those regions queen,
Where springs, and is reserv'd, the sacred flood,
Which being gives, and proves earth's vital blood,
When from thy urn thou pourst th' irriguous good.

* This hymn has a conformity to the inscriptions upon the columns of Osiris and Isis, mention'd by Diod. l. i. Apul. Metam. l. ii. and others.

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Type of our queen, and ancestor, ordain,
 If to thy virtues, as thy worship, true,
 Memphis she gave again to feel thy reign,
 That these our tears fate's rigour may subdue.
 In saving Nephte, thy own glory save,
 The spouse, the subjects, and the son you gave,
 All doom'd alike to perish in her grave.

Horus, thou god of silence, wisdom taught,
 Who shield'st from harms the weakness of the
 To full maturity by years unbrought: [good,
 Protect our prince, thy image, and thy blood.
 O guard his royal youth with tender care,
 Assume the task thy mother Isis bare
 For thee, of equal years, her infant heir.

WHILE this and the like hymns were repeating, the priests (in robes of linnen, with chaplets of lotus on their heads, and sandals of the plant papyrus on their feet) were continually offering sacrifices upon three triangular altars plac'd before the triple statue. These holy men, worn away with austere fasting, which had continu'd from the instant the queen's distemper begun, and fainting under the cruel scourgings with which they accompany'd their invocations, were hardly able, notwithstanding their great number, to put up the prayers the people demand'd of them, or which they offer'd of their own accord.

BUT

BUT what avail temples, and all the vows offer'd in them, against the irrevocable decrees of fate! The queen, however ready to conform to all the prescriptions of her physicians, declin'd daily. The most powerful medicines, tho' apply'd even before she was reduc'd to extremity, seem'd to have no more effect upon her than common remedies; and the physicians, who had been less apprehensive of any extraordinary event, than of that insensible decay they perceiv'd in her, never let fall the least word of hopes. Convinc'd of her own fate, she resolv'd at last to consult the most ancient oracle in the world, which was in the neighbourhood of Memphis, with regard to her son. It was the oracle of Latona, the nurse of Horus, at Buto, a city lying between the Sebennitick and Polbitinick gulph, opposite to which was the then floating island Chemnis. * And this it was which gave the Greeks a notion of their island of Delos floating till the birth of Apollo, the son of Latona. The priests of the oracle, inform'd of the queen's sickness, had anticipated her deputation, and made great preparations for obtaining the goddess's answer. They offer'd up their supplications to her in a vast temple, dug under that which appear'd. In that above the sacrifices were offer'd, and

* Pomp. Mela.

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the ceremonies perform'd, in the sight of all the people ; but to the mysteries celebrated in the subterranean temple, none were admitted but those who were initiated. There it was that so many human victims were sacrific'd, particularly upon such occasions as this, and the gods entreated to accept of other young persons, in exchange for a prince or princess greatly belov'd. There are few nations known, but what may be reproach'd with the same shameful barbarity : But the Egyptians, more superstitious than other nations, have, in former days, carry'd it so far as to sacrifice every foreigner at the tomb of Osiris, in the city of Heliopolis. This tomb was call'd Busiris ; and fable has related it as of a king of Egypt, a transgressor of the laws of hospitality. However, Amosis, * one of the ancestors of Sesostris at Thebes, had the courage and authority to abolish this bloody custom in every city. In the room of these human victims were then substituted images of wax, since so much made use of in magick superstitions.

THE priests deputed to consult the oracle being arriv'd, after one day's journeying, at Buto, with the noble offerings the queen had sent, went the same evening into the temple. All the people having conducted

* Euseb. Præpar. Evan. l. 4. c. 16. ex. Porph.

them

them thither, were oblig'd to attend without; and they enter'd into that part of the temple adjoining to the chapel in the superior temple, of which Herodotus makes mention, and which was hewn out of one single square stone, the inside whereof was sixty foot every way. After having pass'd a good part of the night in this place, they received the answer of the oracle, and were let out privately by another door, and made the best of their way for Memphis.

THE queen, who counted every moment of their journey, and her life, waited their return with an impatience that added to the ardor of her fever. That sorrow which had so tortur'd her mind in the first periods of her indisposition, and which she still continu'd to suppress, was now as visible in her attendants. They look'd upon her death as an irrevocable decree of fate; and the consequences of it, which they foresaw, as well with regard to themselves as the state, threw them into an inexpressible anguish of mind. It was not only that tender affliction arising from the approaching and eternal separation from a mistress, and a friend, to whom they were entirely devoted: Their concern was like to that of persons who imagin'd they beheld all their fair possessions on the point of being laid in ashes, by the impetuous ravages of some sudden fire, which would reduce them

from a state of plenty, to that of extreme indigence: or to the consternation of a city brought to extremity by a barbarous enemy, ready to destroy its religion and laws. The anguish of despair was so visible in their faces, that the most beautiful were become ghastly; and those amongst them, who were endu'd with the greatest presence of mind, could not conceal their distraction, even in their attendances upon the queen, who still kept a profound silence.

THE deputies being at last return'd, and taking the young prince, with the faithful Amedes, whom they found attending him, with them, they enter'd the queen's apartment; where, in the presence of both, and of her confident, without any other witnesses, the chief of the deputation thus unfolded the answer of the oracle, which the sequel of the life of Sethos so exactly verifies, that the author of my memoirs may perhaps be suspected of having copy'd from thence. Vertuous spouse, generous mother, and wise queen (said he) the gods, adverse, and at the same time propitious, send you this answer: Be comforted in that death for which you are already prepar'd. It is only an unhappiness to those in whom it puts an end to a wicked life, and when it loads the memory of the deceas'd with the hatred and maledictions of the living. The gods are attending

ing to bestow upon you that reward which is due to the good works you have perform'd, and even to those you design'd. You will still live in the hearts of your people, and your son will one day restore to them that felicity, which the loss of you is now about to deprive them of. He himself however will not be happy, according to the idea common souls form to themselves of the prosperity of princes: But the gods promise him all that heroick virtue has most satisfactory in itself, and all that the glory which attends it can indulge him with. Born for the good of mankind, he will become a benefactor to nations; preserver of Egypt; and a conqueror of himself. But let those who now hear me keep as an inviolable secret, whatever concerns the prince, and suffer the cloud which will overshadow his first years to disperse of itself.

THE priest had hardly made an end of speaking, when the queen, embracing young Sethos, said: My son, my death is no longer a trouble to me, the gods deprive you of my relief only to give you a more eminent merit and lustre in those great actions they propose to effect by your means. Be faithful to the destiny they have prepar'd for you, and fulfil all their designs. And then, addressing herself to the priests, Return, said she, to your temples, and continue your
vows

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vows for my son, whom I have long since recommended to you : The presents I design for the gods shall immediately follow you; may they vouchsafe to accept of these slender marks of my gratitude.

THESE presents were all the ornaments of a domestick chapel, which she had caus'd to be built contiguous to the apartment she slept in. She had brought them from This, the place of her nativity, where the news of her lamented death was soon going to shorten the days of the king her father. Amongst these ornaments were statues of gold, some of the height of a cubit, which represented the common deities of all Egypt, and in particular of Apollo, who was held in peculiar veneration at This, and at Abydus, which was dependant upon it. Having thus previously sent to the gods what was most dear to her, she address'd herself to Amedes in the following discourse. Wise and faithful counsellor, said she, the kingdom will not be so happy to have you for its support, under the administration which will succeed my death; devote yourself to my son, and be his governor and council. The gods assure me that those virtues they have promis'd him will be the effects of your instructions and example. Amedes immediately embracing young Sethos with the respect due to him; My prince, said he, to you I
entire-

entirely devote the remains of my strength and life. All the services I am capable of rendering my country, are included in the education I shall have the honour of giving to him, to whom the sovereignty of it will one day of right belong.

IN that instant the king, who, not to be wanting in his devoirs, had made it a rule to visit the queen twice a day, enter'd her apartment. My lord, said she, upon seeing him approach, the oracle has pronounced my doom. It may not be seemly to recommend a son to his father ; but, since he is going to be deprived of me, vouchsafe to accept my entreaty, that you will be to him a father and a mother. Madam, answer'd the king, my son is dear to me for my own sake, and will be still dearer to me for yours ; but I don't yet despair of moving the gods to pity for your preservation. Upon which, covering his eyes with his hand, he departed.

THE next thing the queen did, was to distribute jewels to all her attendants, according to their birth and quality. That serenity which appeared in her countenance had chang'd their despair into gentle tears. At last, turning to the young prince ; For you, my son, said she, I have reserved this casket : in it you will find jewels to an inestimable value, and sufficient for your support,

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support, to whatever state fortune may reduce you. Amedes will keep them for you, or employ them for your service. But for this emerald, set in the form of a heart, which I have hitherto caused you to wear about your neck, and which you shall convert into a ring, when you put off the habit of a child, never part with it on any account. About four years since, your father caus'd us all three to be represented in relievo upon the same stone; himself in the form of Osiris, me in the resemblance of Isis, and you like Horus, standing between us. The ingenious workman afterwards, by his command, cut this stone into three pieces, according to the bigness of the figures. One of them is that you wear, another is set in the ring I now take from my finger, and put into your casket. These two, when divested of their ornaments, will exactly correspond with the third, which your father has himself upon his finger. Adieu, my son! may the gods protect you, and receive me! Sethos, touch'd with all the sentiments his tender years were susceptible of, reply'd; I receive, madam, what you are pleas'd to bestow upon me; I have given attention to what you have said; and when I am of riper years, I will endeavour to do as you have done. The queen press'd his hand, and made a sign for him to be remov'd. She spoke no more, and an hour afterwards yielded to the fatal stroke.

I

I WILL not pretend to give a description of the grief which overspread Memphis, and all the provinces of the kingdom, as this melancholy news reach'd them. The tears which were shed upon a bare apprehension of this catastrophe may give some idea of it. * The Egyptians in former days were so much devoted to their sovereigns, that a mourning in the royal mansion was generally a domestick mourning in every family. They gave testimony of it in publick for forty days, by appearing with their garments rent, and in private by their austere fastings. But this last loss, the consequence of which every one was apprehensive of in his private concerns, fill'd each heart with inexpressible grief; insomuch that the priests, who, upon the like occasions, were wont to countenance the publick affliction, to do honour to the memory of their deceas'd kings, found themselves oblig'd, in the present incident, to calm the minds and hearts of the people, in order to preserve that decorum which was, as they said, becoming a civiliz'd nation, and to render to the manes of the deceas'd queen an homage more agreeable to her virtues. They declared, that she died in peace, and that the oracles had removed her apprehensions for the destiny of her son and people.

* Diodor. l. 1.

They

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They alledged the state of rest and felicity, into which they had so much reason to hope the gods would admit her at her approaching obsequies. They endeavour'd in short, by all manner of consolatory advices, to assuage the pain of that wound, which time alone could heal, and which they, however, fear'd time might render more sensible.

PREPARATIONS were in the mean time making for the funeral pomp. No people ever came up to the Egyptians in this particular. Their authors, and even ours say, * that they were the first who had any notion of the immortality of the soul. And, indeed, it appears by the simplicity of their palaces, in comparison with the magnificency of their tombs, that they were more solicitous for the eternal mansions of a future life, than for the transitory abodes of this. We must however allow, that their doctrine on this head was not very consistent. For, not to mention the Metempsychosis, which Pythagoras was for establishing among them, and which made the souls of men, when freed from the body, pass from one animal to another, till after the space of three thousand years, they again enter'd into human bodies; the wisest men allow'd of a place of torment in hell, for the souls of the

* Herodotus, l. 2.

wicked,

wicked, and delightful fields for those of the good. So that either opinion, or a mixture, such as it was, of both, left nothing in those costly tombs, but a dead corpse, which was very far from being eternal; but which, however, by the art they had of embalming, was more durable than the tombs themselves.

THOSE who were appointed to perform this last function, had already taken charge of the queen's corpse. † They were officers of the second rank, very much respected in Egypt, for the knowledge they had of the secrets of the priesthood, though they were no other than domesticks of the priests. The operation was thirty days in performing. Having, by means of a lateral incision in the body, taken out all the intestines, excepting the heart and reins, they anointed it both outwardly and inwardly with a certain gum compos'd of cedar, myrrh, cinnamon, and other perfumes; which not only preserved it for several ages, but caus'd it to diffuse an agreeable odour. They had, besides, the secret of giving a corpse its pristine form; insomuch that the deceas'd seem'd to have retain'd the air of his countenance, and the port of his person. The hairs, not only of his head, but of his eye-brows and eye-lids, were di-

† Diodorus, l. 1. sect. 2.

stinctly

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stinctly preserv'd; and what is yet more surprising, they restor'd to him an appearance of plumpness, and a colour and freshness as natural, as in the healthiest part of his life. Some private persons chose rather to preserve the bodies of their relations, thus embalmed, in closets made for that purpose, than to deposite them in sepulchres already made, or to erect new ones for them; and it was a singular satisfaction to them to behold their ancestors with the same physiognomies, and in the same attitudes as when living.

BUT it was not so with respect to kings: for, if they did not make any particular disposition to the contrary, they were all, in which-ever dynasty they reign'd, convey'd to the labyrinth situate in the middle of the lake Moeris, on the borders of Libya. This edifice, which in magnificence surpass'd all the labours of Greece put together, even according to the testimony of the Greeks themselves, was not built, as Herodotus imagin'd, by the twelve kings who reign'd at one and the same time, after the retreat of Sabacon the Ethiopian: For he did not make himself master of Egypt till two or three hundred years before the invasion of Cambyfes: whereas this labyrinth was by far more antient than Sesostris himself, and was erected when Egypt was only divided into twelve provinces. The kings of the four dynasties, being all at
peace,

peace, had all contributed to this memorable work, of which the upper part was dedicated to the sun, and the subterranean to the infernal deities. And this it was occasion'd * Homer's calling the entrance into hell the gates of the sun. The twelve immense palaces, which it contain'd, represented, according to their design, all Egypt; and for that reason they mark'd out their several sepulchres, for them and their successors, in the subterranean vaults. But the imaginations of the people, added to the ceremonies performed by the priests before they admitted a corps into these gloomy mansions, where few of the living had ever enter'd, gave occasion to a great deal of fiction. It was an article of religion to believe, that the innumerable windings, with which they were told, and with truth, that these subterraneous passages abounded, conducted their good kings to delightful regions, but that tyrants were forbidden even an entrance into the labyrinth. The manner of these ceremonies was this. When the corpse was brought to the bank of a lake call'd Charon, over which the passage lay to the gate of the infernal deities, it was there stopp'd by an incorruptible tribunal, compos'd of sixteen priests of the labyrinth, with their chief, and two judges chosen out of each

* Odyss. 24.

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of the twelve ancient nomes. The high-priest, who conducted the deceas'd king, having there made an harangue, the president of the tribunal gave leave to all the assistants to lay such charges against the deceas'd, as they could prove. They then proceeded to judgment, by which the corpse was either sentenc'd to be deliver'd to their ferryman, whom they call'd Charon, or to be depriv'd of sepulture. This sentence pass'd by scrutiny, that is, by certain tickets, which the judges threw into that terrible urn, the very idea of which was powerful enough to keep the ancient kings within the bounds of justice.

To conclude, To whatever sepulchre the corpse of kings, or even of private persons, were carry'd, they were liable * to an examination before judges, who were always men of the greatest reputation and probity. They were only eligible out of those who were initiated; and, if for a private person, they were upon every occasion chosen by men taken out of each class of the freemen of a city, or of the subjects of the kingdom, when for a sovereign. And the tickets in which the names of the judges were written, were open'd and number'd in publick view. But for those kings who were to be interr'd

* Diodor. l. 1. §. 2.

in

in the labyrinth, all Egypt, according to the division of the twelve ancient nomes, had their suffrage in the election of the judges. And besides, at this labyrinth alone was perform'd that great number of other ceremonies, from whence Orpheus the poet, whom we shall soon see in Egypt, and who being present at the obsequies of another king, borrow'd thence the greater part of that description of hell which he has given us in his verses; and which was afterwards copy'd by Homer in Greek, and by Virgil in Latin.

THE fortieth day after the queen's decease being now come, all was ready for setting forward with the funeral procession, which was to march the forty leagues between Memphis and the labyrinth in ten days and ten nights, according as the several stages were regulated. The porch of the palace was clos'd up from all approaches of the sun, and illuminated with lamps: Under it was plac'd a large chariot with four wheels, all cover'd over with gold. At the hinder part of the chariot was erected a throne, with an ascent of three steps, cover'd with a large crown of gold, richly adorn'd with precious stones, and supported by a sphinx of the same metal, with large wings display'd, upon the head of which the edge of the crown rested. From the top of the crown fell down in large folds, between the sphinx's wings, a cloth of purple

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ple in the form of a pavilion, cover'd with hieroglyphicks richly embossed in gold, and representing all the virtues. The two extremities of this pavilion join'd and cross'd one another at the front of the chariot. This chariot had two poles, and was drawn by sixteen horses, four in front. Their harness was exceeding magnificent, as on a day of triumph. But nothing was comparable to the richness and elegance with which the queen was array'd. She was plac'd upon the throne in a sitting posture, and so artfully fasten'd into it, that no jolt, however violent, could give her any motion, which might make her have the appearance of a corpse. The whole machine was moreover in such manner suspended between its shafts, that nothing could bring it out of a level. And besides, the roads, which of themselves were very good in Egypt, had been levell'd for the conveniency of this procession. In a word, this chariot seems to have serv'd as a model for that in which afterwards the corpse of Alexander was transported from Babylon to * Alexandria. The queen, who had her face and bosom bare, but her eyes clos'd, seem'd to enjoy the sweets of an agreeable slumber amidst the noise of trumpets and kettle-drums, with which the air resounded while the procession was rang'd

* Diodor. l. 18.

in

in order. What melancholy reflexions were there not renew'd in the hearts of those who lov'd her, and had been depriv'd of her sight since her death, or since her sickness! They saw her, they spoke to her; but she was no more. Those who had been the nearest devoted to her, the better to suppress their affliction, avoided looking on her for a time; but overpower'd at last by their curiosity and affection, they cast their eyes upon her, and finding yet the same features, and the same graces, they immediately turn'd them away, and melted into tears.

IN the mean time the queen's household, consisting of six thousand horse, march'd in the front, leaving the care of the royal corpse to the priests. These officers were rang'd four and four, with their arms pointed downwards: The din of their warlike instruments sounding in mournful tone, and mix'd with periodical intervals of silence, pierced to the soul. Next to these follow'd the societies of the city of Memphis, distinguish'd by proper habits, but cover'd with black crape, on horse-back, as the former. And among this number of people, which already amounted to twelve thousand, not a single word was utter'd during the whole procession. The great officers of the court, and after them the princes, excepting the king and the presumptive heir to the crown,

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who

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who never appear'd publickly at funerals, came next, four and four, as the former, clad in purple robes, sitting in a kind of niches, cover'd with black, and plac'd upon shafts, having the ensigns of their dignities at their feet, and carry'd each upon the shoulders of eight slaves. These three numerous troops began their march by day ; and at the close of the evening the ladies, who made the most doleful part of the procession, began to appear. They were seated four and four in sixty chariots, cover'd above, but open on the sides, and drawn each by eight horses, two and two. Both horses and chariots were in a manner bury'd under their coverings of black silk, strew'd all over with tears of silver. These ladies, muffled up in their veils from head to foot, resembled so many spectres. In the last chariot sat the chief lady of the deceas'd queen's court, holding before her a child, who, being veil'd like herself, was known by none, but respected by all. However, the most prudent did imagine that Amedes, not only willing to let the young prince see the solemnity of a trial of the dead in the bloom of his youth, was at the same time cautious of leaving him in the palace in the absence of all his deceas'd mother's servants.

AFTER these ladies, whose sobs and groans heighten'd the grief of the spectators, and
who

who were continually seen drying away their tears under their veil, as a contrast which could not but be very affecting, immediately follow'd all those instruments of musick which in Egypt were made use of at their highest festivals, as the citterns, shalms, and haut-boys; which were answer'd periodically by trumpets and kettle-drums, to proclaim the approach of the queen's chariot. Those who sounded these instruments, and even the leaders of the chariot, and the twelve body-slaves who march'd on the right and on the left of it, were clad in their festival habits, which contradiction to their mournful aspects and profound silence, was to the spectators a lively emblem of the deceitfulness and brevity of human joy. The queen herself was adorn'd with a sort of scarf of flowers, which crossing over her left shoulder, met and join'd under her right arm; and in her hands she held festoons, which hanging over her knees, reach'd down to her feet. This custom of the Egyptians was to signify, that tho' the death of virtuous persons was a matter of sorrow to the surviving, it was to them the entrance into peace, a happiness, and a triumph. The queen's chariot was follow'd by the priests. The high-priest of Memphis, who was to present the queen to the judges, was carry'd next to the chariot, stretch'd out at length in an open coffin, like a corpse, clad in white, and his head and

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face cover'd with a white veil. All the other priests, clad and veil'd in the same manner, leaning with one hand on an augur's wand, curb'd at the top, and holding in the other a ring or circle of gold, to which hung a sort of Tau, march'd on foot in two single lines of five hundred each, and as far distant from one another as the breadth of the roads would allow. In the middle between these two lines, at certain distances, were carry'd standards, on which were represented the several deities, or the symbols of the deities of Egypt, as the Apis of Memphis, the Colossus of Abyddus, the Eagle of Thebes, the Spar-hawk of Tanis, the Anubis of Cynopolis, the Vase of Canope, the Goat of Mendez, the Wolf of Hermontis, the Lamb of Sais; and so of the rest. For there were priests out of all the cities of Egypt at the funerals of their kings, even tho' they were actually in war with one another. And the class of priests, with those of the labourers and traders, were never involv'd in the differences of the states. On the other hand, the death of kings was a means of reconciling the priests of different cities, who seem'd to have very hot disputes concerning the various, and oftentimes contrary deities they ador'd. Our historians speaking of Egypt * have remark'd, that those kings, who had many cities of

* Vid. Plut. Treatise of Osiris and Isis, and others.

different

different worship in their dominions, were glad to keep up this spirit of dissention among the priests ; lest, if they should unite, their influence, which was very great over the vulgar, might set them up above their kings. To conclude, the whole procession was clos'd by a great number of baggage-waggons, which kept off the people that follow'd.

THEY frequently pass'd thro' cities, some greater, some less. The number of them, as well on this road, as every where else, had given occasion to the opinion of old, that there were more cities in Egypt alone, than in all the world besides. In these cities it was that the stages were mark'd out at almost equal distances ; and near every one of them was the house destin'd for their entertainment ; from which they march'd out again to take their stations at set-times. The queen's chariot was plac'd under tents, which were erected for that end at every stage, where it was guarded by other priests, not belonging to the procession. This chariot, by which the whole procession was rul'd, never mov'd but in the night-season, and but three hours together, during which time it advanc'd about two leagues ; and then, resting four hours, resum'd the march again till day-light, and so lay by, waiting the return of the evening.

THE

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THE whole procession being arriv'd, was rang'd in order upon the plain to leave a free passage for the queen's chariot, and the people that had follow'd the procession behind the waggons. They then advanc'd to the brink of the lake Charon, * and there were plac'd on each side of the chariot on a spacious plain, on the right and on the left : And the priests remain'd rang'd behind the chariot in a strait line. At the approach of this awful tribunal, compos'd of judges, who were rever'd as the gods themselves, the high-priest, who was to be the queen's advocate, and all those who were concern'd for her memory, were seiz'd with unexpected terrors: For if those things which are really good, are sometimes accounted bad by the injustice of men, it is more to be apprehended, that those causes which to us appear good, may be really bad in the judgment of the gods.

THE judges were plac'd upon a large and deep scaffold in the form of an alcove, rais'd two steps; about which their seats, to the number of forty one, form'd a semi-circle. Their under-habits were a sort of tunicks, or white vests, like the priests or initiates, over which they wore scarlet robes like judges. Round their necks they had chains of gold,

* By comparing the relations of the ancients to those of the moderns, the labyrinth seems to have been situate between the two lakes Charon and Mœris.

at each of which hung an emerald, with the image of truth * engraven upon it; and they were rang'd in the following order: The high-priest, who presided over the tribunal, was plac'd in the center on a seat rais'd somewhat higher than the rest, and on both sides of him sat the two judges elected by the nome of Memphis, who were only initiates, of whom Amedes was the chief. Below them on either side were the sixteen priests of the labyrinth, and then the twenty-two initiates appointed by the other nomes. The urn was plac'd in the front of the tribunal, on the brink of the uppermost step; and the officers of the second order were seated upon the lowermost, in habits proper for the functions they were to perform after judgment given. Every thing being thus dispos'd, the horses taken out of the queen's chariot, and the poles and pavilion remov'd; the high-priest of Memphis, who directed the procession, being mounted upon the foot of the chariot, standing, and with his head uncover'd, made the following oration:

“ INEXORABLE deities of hell! behold here
“ our queen, whom you have appointed a
“ victim, in the bloom of her years, and in
“ the greatest necessity of her people. We
“ come to intreat you will vouchsafe her

* Diodor. l. 1. §. 2. & Ælian. variar. hist. l. 14.

“ that

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“ that repose, of which her loss may shortly
 “ deprive us. She has been faithful in every
 “ duty to the gods. She has not dispens’d
 “ with the outward exercise of religion un-
 “ der pretext of affairs of state ; nor has that
 “ exercise alone supply’d in her the place of
 “ virtue. Amidst the cares which employ’d
 “ her in her counsels, and that gaiety which
 “ she sometimes put on at court, the divine
 “ law, which was ever present to her mind,
 “ and rul’d in her heart, was always visi-
 “ ble, Of all the festivals, at which the
 “ superiority of her rank, the success of her
 “ undertakings, or the love of her people,
 “ have engag’d her to be an assistant, none
 “ have been so agreeable and pleasant to
 “ her, as those which have call’d her to
 “ our temples. She has not suffer’d herself
 “ to be led into the paths of injustice, as
 “ many kings have done, in hopes of ma-
 “ king ample satisfaction by her offerings ;
 “ and her magnificence towards the gods,
 “ has been the fruits of her piety, not the
 “ tributes of remorse. Instead of counter-
 “ nancing animosity, vexation and persecu-
 “ tion, by the counsels of an ill-tim’d piety,
 “ she has drawn no other maxims from reli-
 “ gion but those of lenity ; and has never
 “ put severity in practice, but when the
 “ common course of justice, and the secu-
 “ rity of the state, has demanded it. She has
 “ exercis’d all the virtues of the best of kings
 “ with

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“ with that modest diffidence, which has
“ hardly allow’d her to enjoy that happiness
“ which she procur’d for her people. A
“ glorious defence of the frontiers, peace
“ settled both at home and abroad, and
“ every other ornament and institution, have
“ generally in other princes been the effect
“ of politick wisdom, which the gods, judges
“ of their real springs, don’t always reward:
“ But with our queen all these things have
“ been the result of virtue, and have had
“ no other principles but a love of her duty,
“ and a view to the publick felicity. Far
“ from regarding the sovereign power as a
“ means to indulge her passions, it has been
“ a rule to her to make the tranquillity of
“ the state the ease of her own mind, and
“ a standing maxim, that patience and affa-
“ bility could alone make her the ruler of
“ the hearts of men. Vengeance never so
“ much as enter’d into her thoughts, but
“ abandoning to those beneath her the shame
“ of embracing every opportunity of exer-
“ cising their hatred, she, like the gods, par-
“ don’d, when she had the power of punish-
“ ing. She curb’d the rebellious, not so
“ much because they oppos’d her will, as in
“ consideration that they were an obstacle
“ to her good designs. She submitted her
“ judgment to the counsel of the wise, and
“ every order of men in her kingdom to the
“ equity of its laws. She subdu’d her ene-
“ mies

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“ mies from without by her courage, and a
 “ strict observation of her engagements, and
 “ her domestick enemies by her fortitude,
 “ and the happy success of her undertakings.
 “ She never suffer’d a secret, or a falsity, to
 “ proceed out of her mouth; and that diffi-
 “ mulation, which is so inseparable from
 “ sovereignty, in her never extended beyond
 “ silence. She never gave way to the im-
 “ portunity of the ambitious; nor did the
 “ assiduities of parasites ever run away with
 “ the rewards due to the services of the absent.
 “ Distinguish’d favourites were unknown in
 “ her reign; even that friendship which she
 “ practis’d and cultivated, had never with
 “ her the ascendant over merit, tho’ often
 “ less affectionate and less engaging. She
 “ bestow’d favours upon her friends, and
 “ gave the most important employs to those
 “ who best were able to discharge them.
 “ She heap’d honours upon the great, with-
 “ out exempting them from duty; and eas’d
 “ the burden of her people, without taking
 “ away that necessity which was a spur to
 “ their industry. She has not, by creating
 “ new offices, given an opportunity to others
 “ to take part with the prince, and unequal-
 “ ly for him, of the publick revenue; and
 “ the meanest of the people have paid the
 “ taxes rated and levy’d upon them, with-
 “ out any regret, because they have not
 “ serv’d to render their equals more opulent,
 “ haughty,

“ haughty, or wicked. Convinc’d, as she
“ was, that the providence of heaven was
“ not exclusive of the vigilance of man, she
“ prevented publick misery by a regular and
“ timely provision; and thus rendring every
“ year equal, her wisdom, in some measure,
“ over-rul’d the seasons and elements. By
“ her favourable reception of all those whom
“ the fame of her prudent government drew
“ from other the most remote countries, she
“ facilitated negociations, maintain’d peace,
“ and rais’d her kingdom to its highest pitch
“ of opulency and glory; and at the same
“ time enforc’d, by her example, that ho-
“ spitality, which till then was not enough
“ cultivated among the Egyptians. When
“ any of the great maxims of government
“ were to be put in practice, and it was
“ necessary to pursue the publick good, tho’
“ attended with private inconveniencies, with
“ what a generous indifferency has she not
“ endur’d the murmurings of a populace,
“ blind, and perhaps stirr’d up by the secret
“ calumnies of those who, tho’ they knew
“ better, might not find their private ad-
“ vantage in the publick felicity? Putting
“ frequently her own glory to stake for the
“ interest of an ungrateful people, she has
“ waited the event of time for her own justi-
“ fication; and tho’ snatch’d away in the
“ very beginning of her course, the purity
“ of her intention, the justness of her views,
“ and

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“ and her assiduity in the execution of them,
 “ have procur’d her the advantage of a glo-
 “ rious memory, and an universal regret.
 “ To be in the better capacity of watching
 “ over the whole of the kingdom, she con-
 “ fided the several under-branches of ma-
 “ nagement to able ministers, who were ob-
 “ lig’d to depute subalterns, and these others,
 “ for whose conduct she could be no ways
 “ answerable, as well because of their re-
 “ moteness, as their number: I dare there-
 “ fore affirm before you her judges, and be-
 “ fore those of her subjects, who now hear
 “ me, that if, among such a number of inha-
 “ bitants as this city of Memphis, and the
 “ other five thousand * cities of this dynasty
 “ are known to contain, it may appear, that,
 “ contrary to her intention, any one has
 “ been oppress’d, the queen is not only ex-
 “ cusable in regard of the impossibility of
 “ providing for all, but is praise-worthy, in
 “ that, knowing the bounds of human un-
 “ derstanding, she has kept to the center of
 “ publick business, and has fix’d her whole
 “ attention upon the first causes and motions
 “ of things. Unhappy those princes with
 “ whom some particular subjects only have
 “ cause to be pleas’d, when the publick has
 “ reason to complain! and tho’ private per-

* There were in Egypt 20,000 cities, Plin. l. 5. c. 9.
 & Pomp. Mela. But Theocritus Idyl. 17. reckons
 33,339 under Ptolom. Philad.

“ sons

“ sons may sometimes suffer, they have no
“ right to blame their princes, when the body
“ of the state is sound, and the principles of
“ government salutary. However, as irre-
“ proachable as the queen has appear’d to us,
“ with regard to men, with respect to you,
“ ye just gods, she builds her hopes of re-
“ pose and bliss upon your clemency alone.

As soon as the high-priest had finish’d his discourse, he cover’d his head and face with a veil, and prostrated himself on the chariot where he stood, in expectation of judgment. The judges immediately enter’d into consultation in the middle of the place; and after having conferr’d some few minutes, retook their seats. The president of the tribunal then ask’d the whole assembly with a loud voice, If any one had any thing to lay to the charge of the queen’s memory? Some of those who had been prejudiced in their private affairs, by some regulations of great advantage to the publick, had prepar’d complaints, more justifiable on their parts, than of validity against the queen: But the last plea, made by the high-priest of Memphis in her defence, had put a stop to their intentions, and they were the most zealous of that numerous assembly in promoting, by their applauses, her entrance into the mansions of the blessed. When (as in the case before us) no charge is enter’d against a de-

ceas'd monarch, the urn is of no use, but he
 is admitted by general assent. The president
 of the tribunal having therefore look'd round
 upon all the judges, and receiv'd from each
 of them the sign of their consent, said,
 " Sacred priest of Memphis, arise; the gods
 " approve the testimony you have born con-
 " cerning your queen, and are going to con-
 " fer upon her the reward due to good kings.
 " May her successors walk in her footsteps,
 " and, by rendring their people happy, trea-
 " sure up greater blessings for themselves. "
 He then commanded the chief officer of
 the second order to touch the queen with
 his wand, of which our poets have made
 Mercury's Caduceus: At the same time
 turning to Amedes, the chief of the two
 judges appointed by the nome of Memphis,
 who sat at his right-hand, he said: " Wise
 " minister of your queen, you, whose pru-
 " dent counsels have had so great part in the
 " actions which bring her this day to glory,
 " accompany the holy priest, who conducted
 " her hither; help to convey her into the
 " bark, and from thence into that temple,
 " the gates of which are shut against the
 " wicked, be they living or dead: We hasten
 " to open these gates to her, and to receive
 " her ourselves. " The judges immediately
 arose, and enter'd the temple of the infer-
 nal deities by a private way. The dead, who
 were oblig'd to enter the subterranean gate,
 had

had no other passage to come at it, but by crossing the lake, the breadth of which was in that part about a quarter of a league, and upon which no other bark was admitted but that of Charon. The officers having loosen'd the cords with which the queen was fasten'd to her throne, and laid her in the same coffin which had brought the high-priest, she was convey'd into the bark, and the high-priest, together with Amedes, having first paid the usual tribute to Charon, accompany'd her. They were no sooner arriv'd at the gates of the labyrinth, but the people, who follow'd them with their eyes, heard a noise as of thunder, which they believ'd to be real, and look'd upon it as a miracle which always happen'd when the temple of the infernal deities was open'd : But in reality it was no more than the hollow sound of the brazen gates at the entrance, which was redoubled by the repercussion of the vaults, and by the neighbouring echo's.

THE corpse was no sooner entered into the labyrinth, than a joy succeeded as general as that of the preceding mourning ; and as sudden as that of a person, seeing his dearest friend risen from the dead. This joy proceeded from the idea they conceived of the happiness their sovereign enjoy'd in the mansions of the blessed. Even those, who could not so soon overcome their grief,

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were oblig'd to conceal it under the most visible demonstrations of joy. The populace, in whom nothing is more easy than a transition from one extreme of passion to another, and to whom besides every opportunity for merriment is acceptable, omitted in their return no frolick or jollity to which Egypt could administer on such a pilgrimage. Persons of the greatest distinction took pleasure in joining with the commonalty, as well on the road, as in the several cities they pass'd through: but they were easily discover'd by the magnificence of their habits, which they had brought with them in the baggage-waggons, that clos'd the procession; and they put on these habits, either in the neighbouring cities, or under costly tents which were erected on every side. As the Egyptians in general think themselves noble, the peasants, men and women, being neatly attir'd, mix'd even with princes and princesses, not only at the same dances, and sports, but at the same tables under tents in the meadows, or in the middle of the open places in cities. The profusion of wines and provisions which are expended on this occasion is inexpressible; and nothing can give a more adequate idea of the plenty of Egypt, and of the riches of its inhabitants. All familiarity was allow'd in discourse, and every thing was matter of joy. Not a single instance was ever known of any quarrel amidst this agree-

agreeable confusion; because nothing was transacted with an intent to offend or prejudice. Even the great, as they were of easy access, and affable to persons of all conditions, drew upon themselves, by so much the more, those obsequious regards, which politeness inspires. All such as excell'd in exercises of strength or ingenuity resorted thither in companies, and diverted the spectators with amusing sports on the land and upon the canals. Troops of satyrs and nymphs, an idea of whom the worship of the god Pan had cultivated in Egypt, long before it pass'd into Greece, were seen sallying out of the thickets, or rushing into the waters.

THE nights were more dazzling than the days, occasion'd by the illuminations in the cities, which at a distance, and in the fields, made a more glorious appearance, than in the cities themselves. Nor is it possible for painting to represent, or words to express their lustre; especially on the banks of the lake Moeris, that sea of sweet water, the work of mens hands, which, according to our best authors, * was one hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, and where those illuminations were doubly represented by their reflections in the waters. An infinite number of gallies, richly adorn'd, and illu-

* Diodorus reckons it 3600 stadia in circumference; 24 stadia making a league of 3000 paces.

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minated like palaces, cruised upon the lake, or row'd from port to port, at the will of those who possess'd them, sure always of meeting with some agreeable amusement which ever way they directed their course. The prodigious concourse of people, the perpetual sound of musical instruments, and the frequent shouts of joy, left no room for complaint in this affluence of all manner of diversions, except it were for want of silence and sleep. In a word, the feast of Diana at Bubastes, or the nocturnal festivals of Minerva at Sais, which are yet celebrated annually, though with less pomp than licentiousness, are but faint images of these festivals on the return from the labyrinth, the ceremony of which drew together the most considerable part of Egypt.

* THE temperature of the climate in this country is exceeding favourable to these sorts of festivals. But more particularly in spring (which was the season at that time) the serenity of the days is as certain as the coolness of the nights; and what is more, winter there differs very little from summer. It is true, the four months of the rise and fall of the Nile, compar'd with the remainder of the year, make a very different appearance. For in these four months, or

* *Vid.* Paul Lucas's Egypt corrected and amended by M. l'Abbe Banier.

there-

thereabouts, the whole country being overflowed, makes the cities appear like so many islands of different bigness, which seem to arise out of the waters: and during the whole remainder of the year, where these waters were, are gardens cover'd with every species of flowers of the spring; or fields fill'd with all the fruits of the earth in autumn. These gardens or fields are surrounded with little canals, which flow out of others which are larger, as these again do from others yet larger, even to those which proceed immediately from the Nile, and which are like unto rivers, being intended to encompass large provinces, and to distribute themselves successively, till they serve as inclosures to the possessions of private persons, Funerals were never perform'd during the time of the inundations, nor never deferr'd, but on that account. The festivals of return from the labyrinth lasted always twice as long as the march of the procession thither: So that the king of Memphis had not an account in form of the accomplishment of the queen's obsequies, till the one-and-thirtieth day after the departure of the procession.

End of the FIRST BOOK.



T H E
L I F E
O F
S E T H O S.

B O O K II.



IF Daluca closely besieged the king even when she could not flatter herself with any approaching hopes; it is easy to believe, that she redoubled her officiousness after the death of Nephte, who, by the indolence of this prince, left the government vacant; for as Amedes had not held that part which he had in the administration, immediately from Osoroth, he had laid down all his employs, even before he departed to attend the queen's obsequies, at which he was to assist as a judge. The king, whom Daluca never quitted, and who

who in the first days of mourning had had more opportunities of being alone with her, was wont to communicate to her such concerns as he could not avoid knowing, and to confide in her for the execution of what they had concerted together. This weak prince, who had enjoy'd that tranquillity, which the wisdom of Nephte had procur'd him, as a person enjoys health, without knowing the value of it, look'd upon a peaceable government as a thing easy in itself, and which any one was capable of supporting: or, if he imagin'd that any particular talent was necessary, he was tempted to believe, that Daluca's courage and vivacity supply'd to advantage the want of Nephte's modest and sober virtues. So that whereas considerations of conveniency only had made him discharge the burden of the government upon the late queen; it was by a kind of choice that he solemnly resign'd it to Daluca, who had no title to pretend to it. He advis'd her however, in particular, to consult with Amedes upon any emergency. Daluca answer'd him, That the deceas'd queen having intrusted Amedes with the education of the young prince, this employ was sufficient to take up his whole time; and she maliciously added, that she would have the assistance of ministers yet more devoted to the king's will than he was.

THE

THE new regent, when she took the helm of state into her hands, behaved with that presumption which is common in persons of no worth, when succeeding those of the most distinguish'd merit. However, the aversion of the publick plainly shewn with regard to her, and the honourable mention continually made of the deceas'd queen, gall'd her to the soul; and she could never have persuaded herself that the entrance into sovereign power could have been so disagreeable. This possess'd her mind, from the very beginning of her administration, with such asperity, as could not but prove fatal to her in the sequel: and this lady, who, in the earliest hopes of her future grandeur, was wont sometimes to distribute her chimerical benevolence to those who were in her intimacy, without ever proposing to do any good to the publick, as soon as ever she had attained her wishes, thought no more of doing service to any one. The hatred which thereby became deeply rooted in the hearts as well of the courtiers as the people, made her reflect more seriously upon the project she had before conceiv'd of espousing the king, and attaining to the royal dignity. This indeed was the secret inclination of the prince; but till then it had not been a practice in Egypt for kings to marry below their rank; and so scrupulous had they been

on

on this head, that they took their own sisters to wife, if suitable princesses were not to be found in the neighbouring courts. This custom had taken footing among them independant of this pretext; and the Ptolemies, though originally Grecians, comply'd with it.

NOTWITHSTANDING the care the king took to absent himself from all affairs of state, and to be unacquainted with what was transacted in the heart of his kingdom; he could not, however, be ignorant, that the choice he had made of Dahuca, to confide his authority in, had given uneasiness to his subjects. But the ambition of this lady, who thought the power she had over him uncontrollable, prompted her to make use of that very argument for her ascending the throne, which ought to have mov'd him to deprive her of the administration. She took a proper time to inform Oforoth, with tears in her eyes, that the favours he had honour'd her with, and her intire devotion to him, had excited envy against her. She observ'd, that her zeal for the king's person began at a time when she could not be suspected of any future views. Even now, added she, that my enemies apprehend it is time I should receive some reward for my disinterested affection, I abandon all, and consent that my fidelity become unprofitable to me for your service. I accepted of the administration,
only

only that it might not devolve into the hands of some secret enemies to that absolute power inherent in you: but you may, if you think proper, give yourself up to them. I will even acknowledge, continued she, in a more resolute tone, that I set too high a rate upon the continuance of my administration. But as the reformers of government have dared to bring their complaints even to you, either you must allow them just, and banish me from your court, or confound their presumption, by heaping new honours upon me. Without abandoning my affection for you, which is an impossibility, I, from this moment, renounce all the functions you have constrain'd me to accept of, unless attended with the supreme dignity, which alone was the ease and glory of the late queen's administration: Such a resolution, hitherto without example, will convince the world you dare exert your authority. The king, who till then had struggled with the consideration of his own honour, and his son's interest, gave way to his natural weakness, upon false principles of courage; and by a very improper marriage confirm'd that power, which he had unseasonably conferr'd upon a woman, who was about to crush his age with care and troubles: acting in this respect, like other weak princes, who instead of remedying the errors they have already enter'd into, endeavour to support them by the commission of still greater evils.

OSOROTH

OSOROTH, however, conscious of the irregularity of his choice, and Daluca of the inferiority of her birth, did not presume to convert the publick discontent into matter of rejoicings. The nuptials and coronation were both celebrated with very little ceremony: and it was not without pain, the queen could at first behave in a splendor so much superior to her former condition. Her pride however soon recover'd upon the birth of a son, for whose advancement she became immediately solicitous. But as she could no ways carry her views to the height her ambition suggested to her, but to the prejudice of young Sethos, she perceiv'd the difficulties she had to encounter with, in attempting that injustice, and pursuing such crimes as she foresaw would be necessary for attaining her end, so long as that spirit of equity, reason and order, which had been establish'd for several reigns, was predominant at court, and amongst the chief men of the kingdom. Her first attempt then was to corrupt the morals of the court; hoping, with reason, that she should then find such persons to fill up all the great offices, as would be base enough not to contradict, or wicked enough to further her designs. But as a mark of her more refin'd policy and capacity for perpetrating mischief, she concluded, that the most unsuspected, and at the same time sure and speedy means of corrupting the court,

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court, was to introduce, as much as possible, a relaxation of manners, and levity of mind. She knew by particular experience, that those men who are enemies to all application and business, and wholly given up to their imaginations and pleasures; tho' they might at first be endu'd with that common probity, which costs nothing, were no proof against those vices which offered them any advantage. Virtue never takes root in a mind possessed with vanity; and opportunity either finds or renders such a one capable of every crime.

Daluca judg'd then, that to put this her design in practice, she must begin by breaking off gradually those assemblies and conversations which were usually held in the palace towards evening, among men of sense and discretion, that idle discourses might supply their place; and that above all, it would be necessary to supplant the usual exercises of the young Egyptian nobility, and substitute vain amusements in their room. But before I proceed to the method she took to introduce this first depravity, which was to be the source of all the rest, I believe it may be very proper to give an idea of the manners of this nation, with regard to the intercourse of wit and science which flourished in it; and the care that was taken to enforce whatever could ennoble the heart, cultivate the mind, and

and invigorate the body *. This account will at the same time serve as a general plan of the education of young Sethos, which we shall speak more particularly of hereafter.

THE Greeks were as yet a barbarous nation, with regard to their custom of locking up their wives, the savage rather than warlike education of their children, and the preference they gave to bodily force, beyond the virtues of the mind; when the Egyptians, under the happiness of an uniform and wise government, had attain'd to politeness, which consisted more in the great principles of mildness and discretion, than in tiresome ceremonies. Human learning was the true source of this politeness: and as the sciences were very ancient in Egypt, the manners of that nation were early form'd. It has been a true observation, that good breeding never made its way into any nation but by means of learning. The Romans were an unciviliz'd people, till they learnt the sciences of the Greeks; as the Greeks themselves were, till they became acquainted with the knowledge of the Egyptians. And tho' learned men are not always the most civiliz'd, it is nevertheless, to their writings, in philosophy,

* These very expressions are found in Bossuet, speaking of the Egyptians, in his discourse upon universal history.

history,

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history, morality, and even poetry, that their fellow-citizens are indebted for the true foundation of their accomplishments.

THE king's palace at Memphis, which was situate on one side of a large square, opposite to the temple of the three deities, was the theatre of the arts and sciences. We have already observ'd, that the ancient kings of Egypt chose rather to shew their magnificence in the edifices they were to inhabit after their death, than in those they dwelt in while living. Pursuant to this principle their palaces made no appearance, either in themselves, or in those ornaments which regard only pageantry and luxury. But in recompence, nothing was omitted in them that contributed to the cultivation of the sciences; Witness the gardens of the king of Memphis, which contain'd every sort and species of known plants which Egypt had ever produc'd, and even all those peculiar plants which travellers had brought from the most distant climates, especially after the conquests of Sesostris. And besides, all the advantages which the due ordering and ranging of this immense variety of plants could possibly afford to the eye by beautiful views and prospects, was nicely observ'd. An elegant choice of the most agreeable flowers, which are singly planted in our modern parterres, cannot afford a sight equal to that of many
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large compartments, in which were seen in separate borders all the flowers simple or compound; which blew in the form of roses, pinks or lillies; or whose leaves took the shape of a vase, an umbrella, or a tuff; or in short, whose colours were either simple or mix'd.

ON the wings of the parterre were planted the twenty species or kinds of palm-trees, in one single row on each side; one of flower- or male-palms, and the other of fruit- or female-palms. They thought this correspondence necessary to render the females fruitful, by the dust of the flowers which the wind convey'd to them from the males. A distinction of sex, which, tho' more perceptible in palm-trees, may perhaps be the same in many other plants. The parterre had no other shelter but these two rows of palms; but there were two other shady walks under arch'd terrasses, to the very bottom of the garden. At the end of the parterre were two great woods separated by the continuation of the main walk, which were travers'd by an infinity of other lesser walks, that the sun never pierced. These two woods consisted of every species of those trees which are called barren, from the humble broom to the haughty cedar, ascending gradually from that side towards the parterre with their tops joining, which from the windows of the palace resembled a talus or glacié, and

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by the favour of the climate were ever green. Behind these woods were all sorts of plants, roots and pulse necessary in a kitchen-garden. And on the sides continued downwards, were planted every sort of wall- and other fruit-trees. But as they were design'd for no other use but to shew the extent of botany, there were no more than what might be sufficient to exhibit the several kinds or species.

THE priests, who were the orderers and managers of this garden, had a passage to it thro' a gallery at the top of a colonnade, which reached from their college behind the temple, and, bordering one side of the square by the river side, run along by the north wing of the palace, and so descended on the same side into the parterre. They had caus'd to be drawn and painted in natural colours, all the trees and plants of the whole garden; and all these figures were to be seen in one of those galleries of the palace, which were always open to the curious, even to strangers. These figures were more in number than the plants of the garden, because they represented a great many others which were not transplantable from the soil where they grew: Tho' there was nothing wanting that could possibly be procured, not even coral, madre-pores, lithophyton, and other marine petrifying plants. In short, every thing was there
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in the most exact order, according to their kinds and species: Plants as yet unknown, had in some manner their places assign'd them; and botany seem'd here to be compleat, independent of its parts, which in all appearance will never be so.

BUT as the curiosity of the Egyptians was not limited to this article alone, they had in the same gallery samples of all the productions of nature, treasured up in repositories, with grates before them of that metal call'd electrum, a mixture of gold and silver, ranged under classes in such excellent order, as rais'd curiosity in the most indifferent. Even nature herself may be said to have been honour'd in this collection by the multiplicity and variety of her own gifts, and her riches thus assorted, under the proper names and inscriptions which distinguish'd them, seem'd to exceed in number those same productions, when dispers'd in her own extensive field, and frequently unknown. In this collection were comprehended all such substances, as are gather'd from the surface, or taken out of the entrails of the earth, in their natural form, and but barely cleans'd and purify'd: Such were not only all manner of concretions, congelations and crystallisations, but all sorts of fossils, minerals and metals, and that in the several progressions and degrees from whence they receive different appellations. Hence

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they took their notions of all those juices and gums which proceed from plants or other bodies by exsudation, the greater part of which were either precious aromatics, or soveraign antidotes : An immense treasure of delights in health, and of remedies in sickness. To conclude ; Here was that grotto of Mercury, in which, as Orpheus says, was treasured up a collection of every good thing, and from whence no one ever return'd with the infirmities he brought.

FROM this gallery, set apart for natural history, was a passage into that destin'd for Chymistry. * Some believe this science took its name from Egypt, formerly call'd Chemia ; but that it took its rise there is certain. The renown'd Mercury of Thebes, whom the Egyptians look'd upon as the author of all their knowledge, gave name to that liquid metal which he found the method of extracting out of Cinnober, and which is found to be exactly the same with the Quicksilver which runs in the mines, the object of so many chymical experiments, and the miracle of nature, by the variety of colours which it assumes in its precipitation, and from whence it has likewise the name of Proteus. Mercury it was who taught

* With regard to this article our reader may consult the works of Olaus Borrichius, in which he defends the antiquity of chymistry against Conringius.

them

them to reduce bodies by decomposition into their three principles, salt, sulphur and spirit; the latter of which, as the most sublime, has retain'd in our authors the name of Mercury. Several kings of Egypt follow'd his example in the study of chymistry; and Theophrastus tells us we are indebted to one of them for the artificial azure. The Egyptians, by an imitation of almost all compound bodies, had form'd, as it were by art, a second nature; and chymistry furnish'd them with nitres, vitriols and salts, always more beautiful, and sometimes more efficacious than those of nature. Seneca the philosopher assures us, * that Democritus had learnt of them the art of softening ivory, and to give to flints the colour and lustre of emeralds. We have at least a recent and incontestable proof of the efficacy of their dissolvents, in that pearl of inestimable value and uncommon size, which Cleopatra took from her ear, and liquify'd in an instant in prepar'd vinegar, that Mark Anthony might swallow it: And it is certain, that this vinegar was no corrosive dissolvent, because it was drunk without danger.

THE testimonies of antiquity have gone yet farther with regard to the Egyptians; and we are plainly told, that Mercury, or

* Ep. 90.

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Hermes Trismegistus, taught them the secret of transforming all metals into gold, call'd for that reason the Hermetical philosophy. As a proof of which they alledge the vast extent of their riches, which, say they, one single mine of gold, the only one they knew, could never have furnish'd. Witness the ship of cedar, of four hundred and twenty foot long, which Sesostris caus'd to be plated on the inside with silver, and to be cover'd with gold without; the astronomical circle of massive gold in the tomb of Ismandes, which by the account Diodorus gives, was of the thickness of a cubit, or a foot and a half, and in circumference three hundred sixty five cubits; a great number of temples of gold dedicated, according to the same author, by Osiris to Jupiter, Juno, and other gods; temples so large, that priests were appointed to officiate in them; and to conclude, so many other works, which, tho' but of marble or stone, cost more than the former. Notwithstanding all which, the opinion I am of, that the integral parts of all bodies are determin'd to their nature from the formation of the earth, would alone hinder my granting, to any one whomever, the power of transmuting them; or at least allowing that their change can be effected by operations so imperfect and so short as are those of mankind, in comparison with the subtlety and extreme length of those of nature. Besides, wise men don't doubt but this

this true philosopher's stone, of which Mercury or Hermes was the inventor, was the commerce which this first king of Thebes establish'd in Egypt. And in reality, it is not the quantity of matter, either gold or silver, be it taken from the mines, or the laboratories of the chymists, that renders a nation opulent. The mines of Norway, Germany, Spain and Africa, don't make the inhabitants of those countries one jot the richer. The continual circulation of a moderate quantity of this matter, and a perpetual commerce, with the productions of a soil, and the fruits of industry, have rais'd nations to extreme plenty, who have no mines either of gold or silver. We must however grant, that the Egyptians closely pursu'd this secret of Hermes, taken in its literal sense; and we may even conjecture, that the real knowledge they attain'd to in the art of physick, was owing to their vain labours in quest of the philosophical gold.

THIS chymical gallery led to another appropriated to anatomy. The dissections were always perform'd in the priests college; but they brought into the palace entire and natural demonstrations, consisting of the bones, muscles, arteries and veins of most animals, either of the air, earth, or water: And their entrails, shewn separately, were made more discernable by being laid open, or by injections. Pliny relates, that the ancient

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kings of Egypt did not think it beneath them to assist themselves at dissections. It is certain at least, that *Æsculapius*, king of Memphis, being the first author of physick, was likewise the inventor of anatomy. But Egypt having since embrac'd a more regular form of government, the several functions were better distributed, and the particular professions of the sciences devolv'd upon the priests, or their subalterns. The practice of embalming human bodies, and even those of animals, most of which were sacred with them, in one city or other, had render'd them extremely knowing in the outward and inward construction of all living bodies. The several devastations in Egypt which have robb'd their catacombs of an infinity of mummies and bones, are even to this day of great help to the study of this science; And the famous Galen, physician to our august Emperours Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, excludes from the profound knowledge of anatomy those who did not come for instruction from these objects to the academies of Alexandria, tho' now held by the Greeks.

THE knowledge the Egyptians had in anatomy, was a consequence of their curiosity in living creatures. I don't speak of the custom yet in practice in Egypt of hatching the eggs of fowls destin'd for the nourishment of mankind, in furnaces made for that purpose,

purpose, which prodigiously increases their number. But the kings of Memphis had, besides the garden I have above describ'd, a large inclosure, with a park and proper conveniencies for four-footed beasts, canals and basons for fish and amphibious creatures, and aviaries for birds. And here were frequently represented sundry sports of these animals, tam'd and train'd up to surprizing exercises.

* Crocodiles were seen floating upon the surface of the canals and basons with men on their backs, who made them perform all sorts of evolutions, or walking on dry land, led by chains, and often obedient to their master's voice alone. The same evolutions were perform'd by the Hippopotamus, or River-Horse, whose aspect alone was so hideous, that it was believ'd fire proceeded out of his nostrils. The bones of this animal are shewn in several cities of Greece for the bones of giants. We have seen, even in the days of the Ptolomies, when the sciences began to decline in Egypt, Cynocephali, a sort of apes, of which they made their hieroglyphical Anubis, that were taught to play regularly on the guitar and the flute. †

BUT we must allow, that the curiosity or ingenuity of the Egyptians, in what was

* Plut. c. de solertia anim.

† Ælian. de natura animal. l. 6. c. 10.

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commendable, does no ways excuse the scandalous and superstitious abuses they are fallen into with respect to animals. Many cities in Egypt have borrow'd their names from those monsters they paid adoration to, as Crocodilopolis and others. The Hippopotamus is worshipp'd at Pampremis, tho' this city don't bear its name. The most excusable among them seem to be those who worship the animals that are of use to mankind. The * Heracleoti offer'd incense to the Icnemon, a sort of rat as big as a little dog, which destroy'd the crocodile in a very singular manner: This little animal, after having daub'd itself all over with a sort of thick slime, which when dry'd serv'd it as a coat of mail, jump'd into the jaws of the crocodile, and so kill'd it. The ancients say, this is the only animal that secures itself with defensive armour. All Egypt ador'd the bird Ibis, a sort of stork, that freed their cities from the little wing'd serpents, which the African wind was wont to bring them; but this bird was itself very troublesome, by reason of its voracity and filth. It is related, that Cambyfes being upon the point of giving battle to Psammenitus the son of Amasis at Palusa, on the confines of Egypt, rang'd a row of these birds before his avant-guard, and that the Egyptians chose rather to sub-

* Cic. de natura, Deor. l. 1.

mit without opposition, than to draw their arrows against them. The Greeks with reason reproach'd the Egyptians for the singularity of their religion. But they pretend to justify themselves with regard to their worship of crocodiles, and other such hideous animals; by alledging, that they defended their country, and render'd the access to it dangerous to the pirates of Arabia, and the scouts of Libya. They even retort the same reproach upon the Greeks, * and say, that the Thessalonians worshipp'd a stork, and the Bœotians a weasel. It is indeed a common thing for men to deride with great haughtiness the superstition of others, when they are blind to their own folly, tho' often of the same kind.

AFTER having gone thro' what regards experimental sciences, the next gallery was the first of those destin'd for the sciences of computation. The peculiar necessity incumbent upon the inhabitants of this country, of adjusting the bounds of their lands after an inundation of the waters of the Nile, had put them upon the study of geometry sooner than other nations: But they had carry'd their contemplations much farther than this

* Clem. Alex. admon. ad gentes. This father even adds, that it is less ignominious to worship animals, incapable of crime, than gods, vitious and unjust, as were those of the Greeks.

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necessity oblig'd them ; And had attain'd to those sciences, of which the simple measuring of their lands, or geometry properly so call'd, was but a very small part. The canals and other bounds, which in course of time separated the estates of private persons, made them sufficiently known. But geometry became the knowledge of every kind of proportion represented by lines.

THE first elements of the mathematics are very ancient. It is related, that Mercury, the first king of Thebes, whom we have so often mention'd, being concern'd at the changes, which an universal deluge then recent had caus'd upon the surface of the earth, and for the want of all human science, which that terrible catastrophe had so totally effac'd, thought of an expedient that might prevent so great a loss, if the disaster should ever happen again. * He caus'd subterranean and winding passages to be dug in the neighbourhood of Thebes, the remains of which are yet to be seen, and go by the name of the Syringes. These he fill'd with square and pyramidal columns, upon the surfaces of which were carv'd the principles of every science ; but in hieroglyphical symbols, that if even the art of writing should be lost, they might be explain'd by conjecture ; and that if any of

* Ammian. Marcel. l. 22. vid. Marsh. p. 39. & 41.

the race of man should escape, they might at least have this aid, and not be reduc'd, as they had then just been, to labours that requir'd so great a length of time as a new invention of all things. It is added, that Mercury himself had enjoy'd the same advantage from some columns anterior to the deluge, which had been erected by the hero-kings or demi-gods, his predecessors.

IN the mathematical gallery at Memphis were plac'd columns of the height of a cubit, but which had all the proportions of those columns of the Syringes, which contain'd the principles of this science. The proprieties of numbers were engraven on the first of them; forasmuch as their proportions being perceptible by operation alone, they serve as elements and a model for all mathematical proportions. * Pythagoras, who, as the ancients say, receiv'd great instruction by Mercury's columns, thence took his idea of numbers. He likewise carry'd it as far as any of the Greeks before our celebrated Diophantes; and he was the first amongst them who made use of them for the musical divisions of the monochord: But he afterwards made allegorical applications of them, which may have been of some moral use, but were of no advantage to arithme-

* Jamb. de Myst. Ægypt. l. i.

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tick itself. Upon other columns were the elementary propositions of geometry, with their figures, under each of which was the name of him who first demonstrated them, and the date thereof; but not the demonstrations themselves. These monuments formed a very curious history of the steps and progress of human understanding. The sciences were pointed out, and the degree they had attain'd to in each age known; but there were other measures to be taken before they could be attain'd to. Thales had observ'd there, that an angle taken in the circumference of a circle, and carry'd to the two extremities of the diameter, was always rectangular: And it was from the demonstration he found of it after his return to Greece, that he gather'd all the other proprieties of the circle, and all the trigonometrical resolutions, or those which give the measure of inaccessible distances. There it was that Pythagoras found out the famous proposition upon the hypothenuse of the rectangular triangle, compar'd to the two other sides. * And it was not without reason he sacrific'd a hecatomb in thanks to the gods for having at last discover'd it; since this proposition, and that which establishes the analogy of the sides of such triangles, are the two axles

* See Olaus Borrichius, *Hermetis sapientia*, where he speaks in general of the sciences of the Egyptians, c. 8.

upon

upon which the whole science of geometry turns.

NEXT to the elementary propositions, which respect only figures terminated by direct or circular lines, were all those parts of geometry, which require no other assistance. Upon this basis alone were rais'd all the mathematicks employ'd for the use of man, the convenience of cities, and the ornament of all Egypt; in a word, all practical geometry. The principles of this geometry carved upon columns, tho' they were not all copy'd from those of Mercury, and the date of the greater part shew'd that the invention was more modern, took up one side of this spacious gallery. The other was adorn'd with discoveries made in compound geometry, or that part which treats of curvilinear figures. These discoveries being owing to the priests alone, after they had form'd a peculiar society in Egypt, were not upon columns, but carv'd with proper figures upon tables of white marble, higher and larger than the columns. Establish'd theorems, and problems resolv'd, * were only express'd,

* Those priests who apply'd themselves to the most abstruse speculations in geometry, were call'd Arsepedonaptes, or Arpedonaptes. See on these two words the notes of S. Clem. of Alex. in Potter's Edition, p. 357. The reader will find in the text, that Democritus boasted of having learnt of these men as much of geometry as they themselves could know.

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as those in simple geometry, without any demonstration.

BUT of all the curiosities in these galleries, nothing came up to the beauty of the astronomical instruments. The Chaldeans have been accounted the inventors of this science: But they themselves were but a colony of the Egyptians, led into Babylon by Belus, who, according to Diodorus, was born in Egypt. The very climate of this country favour'd their astronomical observations, not only on account of a continual serene sky, but because, being near the equator, it discovers the greatest part of the firmament, whose revolutions over it are almost direct. It was by this advantage of situation, that the shepherds, who spent their nights in the open fields, were the first astronomers: they could not but remark the different elevations of the stars in different hours of the night, the successive rise of those which absented themselves from the rays of the sun, during the course of the year, and the particular course of the planets, generally opposite to the diurnal motion of the whole firmament. But no sooner did the more curious and penetrating part of mankind begin to cultivate these objects, than they converted them into the most noble of all human sciences, and the only one which can render a prophet infallible. The situation of Egypt made it so famous

famous for astronomy, that, since the foundation of Alexandria, all the great astronomers of Greece have been either born, or have acquir'd their knowledge and fame in that city. Such as, Timocharis, Denis the astronomer, Eratosthenes, the famous Hipparchus, Possidonius, Sosigenes; and, to conclude, Ptolemy, the last and the greatest of them all. The Egyptians were the first who made spheres according to the two different systems of the universe; upon a supposition, either that all the heavenly bodies have their revolution about the earth, or that the earth takes its circuit round the sun as a planet. Tho' the Greeks now follow the visible and apparent system of the diurnal revolution of the sun about us, a system to which our Ptolemy has added great lustre; we can't be ignorant that our antient philosophers, such as Thales and Pythagoras, believed all the planets, and the earth itself, had their motions round the sun. And as both of them learnt the sciences in Egypt, it is a certain proof, independant of my memoirs, that this last system took its rise there. The motion of the earth has been even admitted by Greeks of a pretty modern date; and Philolaus has lent his name to the Philolaic astronomy, which has this hypothesis for its basis. These two systems are equally satisfactory as to the periodical revolutions of the stars. But if the Ptolomean system be in

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some manner better adapted to the senses, and may serve for astronomers who only observe the celestial appearances; that of Philolaus, being infinitely plainer in itself, of consequence comes nearer nature, and is more agreeable to philosophy. I shall say nothing here of the Egyptian astrology, because it was only taught to initiates, in the inmost recesses of their temples. But as a search after the philosopher's stone has been the parent of chymistry, so we may say that the vain science of astrology, with which all the nations of the world are infatuated, has produc'd excellent discoveries in astronomy. A general knowledge of this great art was common to all the priests in Egypt; but we must allow that those of Thebes surpassed in this article * all their brethren. I shall therefore defer some other observations on this science, till I shall have occasion in another place to speak of this famous metropolis of the upper Egypt.

BUT what attracted the attention of a greater number of people in the palace of Memphis, were the models of all the machines which had been made use of to level the soil in Egypt, to water every part of it, to raise those waters to considerable heights, and to keep them within bounds. It was after a view of these

* Diodor. l. 1.

wonder-

wonderful machines, of which some were yet in being in the days of Archimedes, that this famous prince of Syracuse invented at Alexandria the hydraulick screw or engine which bears his * name. In this gallery was likewise shewn the models of those multiplied powers, by the means of which they had been able to hoist out of their quarries, to transport, and to raise to the very clouds, stones of so prodigious a size, as perpetuate the labours of Egypt. To conclude, whatever invention had furnish'd for the service of war, by land or sea, was there carefully treasur'd up. Astronomy, added to the active genius of the Egyptians, had made them very expert in navigation; and the models of vessels of every form, and of instruments proper to build and work them, were not the least among the curiosities we have been describing.

THIS extraordinary collection was indeed but a mute object, or spoke only by means of the inscriptions which were affix'd to each article. We must likewise allow that foreigners had hardly any other instructions to expect, but what they could draw from these kinds of objects, which were in some of the cities of Egypt, before Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus, the most savage

* Diodor. l. 5. p. 217. Ed. Hen.

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and inconsiderate of all conquerors, had laid them waste. Thales and Pythagoras were the last of the Greek philosophers, who had the advantage of seeing them before their destruction. They both resided in Egypt a great number of years; and had contracted an intimate friendship with some of the Egyptian priests: They were both initiated, and Pythagoras in particular *, desirous of being so, at Heliopolis, where the priests were accounted the most expert at divination, purchas'd it at the expence of being circumcised. Notwithstanding which, their travels and labours had been of little profit to them, if they had not, as great inventers themselves, drawn large consequences from the little which was communicated to them †. The priests thought themselves indeed oblig'd to be liberal of their instructions to foreign initiates, with regard to certain mysteries of their religion, but were very sparing in the secrets of their sciences. In favour of their own nation however, there were commonly attending, in other galleries of the palace of Memphis, the greatest masters of those sciences, of which the principles and instruments had been expos'd to view in those already describ'd. Renown'd Athens never produc'd

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i.

† Philostrates in the life of Apollonius, l. i. c. i. says, that Pythagoras, as an excellent painter, had embellish'd with colours what the Egyptian priests had only sketch'd with the pencil.

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so many schools, nor them more frequented; tho' in these of Egypt none were admitted but natives *. Besides the hours set apart for regular lectures, the priests, who were the only teachers in these several academies, were ready every moment of the day to answer all questions that might be propos'd to them by any persons whomsoever. But their chymical preparations, anatomical dissections, and even astronomical observations, were always in private; that they might in some measure conceal, even from the Egyptians themselves, the means by which they attain'd to their knowledge.

THO' the Egyptians gave preference, among the labours of the mind, to natural philosophy, as more directly conducive to the advantage of the publick; they were not, however, negligent in those which are the objects of erudition. Their consultations on this head were held in a vast library, which they increas'd daily. Upon the gate of this library was written in letters of gold, **FOOD FOR THE MIND.** An inscription of greater extent than that of the library of Thebes, plac'd there by Ismandes the founder:

* Monuments of antiquity give so often an idea of these academies, that F. Laffiteau, in the life of John de Brienne, l. 2. p. 145. having had occasion to speak of Philippus Augustus, said; That he had made the university of Paris as famous as those of Athens and Memphis had been, in their greatest splendour,

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viz. PHYSICK FOR THE MIND *. It is not in the power of a king to collect the curiosities of nature and art, which one learned man may have describ'd and explain'd in his writings; but no private person can make so ample a collection of books as a king may. The library of 700,000 volumes collected under the care of Ptolomeus Philadelphus, and burnt against the will of the conqueror, when Julius Cæsar enter'd Alexandria, was a wonder of Egypt, greater than any of those which now go by the name. At Memphis, and in other cities, the priests kept in their own possession all the books, which contain'd the mysteries of their religion, and even the histories of the heroick times, or those which preceded Menes. They communicated them only to initiates, to whom they expounded them in private. Having establish'd it as a maxim, to deprive the laity of all means of becoming arbiters in points of religion; the people, and especially the women, knew no more of it than what the priests taught them by word of mouth. But all histories from the time of Menes, and even those of foreign countries, which they had collected with as much assiduity as the curiosities of nature, were preserved in the royal libraries, and shewn to all Egyptians who desir'd it.

* Diodor. Description of the Memnonium, l. i. §. 2.

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* THE priests in Egypt were the only judges in point of civil right: But if they themselves had any matter of dispute with private persons, and by so much the more if with the king, it was decided by the assembly of initiates: So that the priests and initiates might have kept the knowledge of the law wholly within themselves. However, as they thought it reasonable that every one who was cast should judge of the equity of their judgments; and besides, it was requisite for private persons to know the laws they were to live up to; the priests taught this science publickly in a hall of the palace: and that was the only school into which strangers were admitted. The Egyptians had right to boast that Solon and Lycurgus borrow'd from them the best of those laws which they establish'd, one of them in Athens, and the other in Sparta. † Among these was one very remarkable, which oblig'd all the commoners of Egypt to declare to the judges every year what profession they propos'd to follow for a livelihood, and they were forbidden, at least for that time, following any other upon pain of death. This made them assiduous every one in his way. And that activity yet so visible in our city of Alexandria, made the

* *Ælian. var. hist.* 1. 14.

† *Herodotus*, 1. 2. *Diodor.* 1. 1.

emperor Adrian say, * there was not a man in that great city who was not distinguished by some or other profession or trade. Even the blind, added he, have their work. None are exempt, no not the gouty, if they have either hands or feet free from the distemper. This is but one instance, among an infinite number of excellent laws, which from the Egyptians were propagated among the wisest nations, and of which some are easily distinguish'd in the Roman laws ||.

THE kings of Egypt had always been promoters of these academies, being convinc'd, that a love of the sciences, and the tranquility they requir'd, were alone sufficient to suppress all thoughts of revolt and sedition. The sciences not only employ and adorn the mind, but endue it with a certain solidity and uprightness, which generally prevent men not only from being vain, but from being wicked. This truth had been experienc'd by many kings, in the great ministers, magistrates, and even great commanders, which these schools had furnish'd: For the exercises of the body were here as little neglected as those of the

* Fl. Vopiscus in Saturnino.

|| Solon sententiis adjutus sacerdotum Ægypti, latissimâ moderatione legibus, Romano quoque juri maximum addidit firmamentum. Amm. Marc. lib. 22. See likewise Nicolai de Synedrio Ægyptiorum, where he compares the 14 chief laws of Egypt to those of other nations.

mind.

mind. I don't mean only such as wrestling, swimming, running, riding, and walking a single rope, which latter they suppos'd render'd the eyes, and footsteps sure; all exercises of great use in the art of war, whether in battles or at sieges; but every article belonging to the military art which requires study and science. Here young noblemen, emulating one another, were employed in taking the distances of inaccessible places, and delineating every species of fortification. They diligently followed the most famous architects in the execution of their immense undertakings, to learn of them the proportions which the foundations of walls bear to their height; the power of those vaults which tho' solid were light; the different sorts of timber, and the degrees of force it attain'd from different positions.

EVEN queens, and the ladies that attended them, were endued with this noble emulation. The set races, and other exercises of these young noblemen, on their festivals, and days of publick rejoicings, furnish'd them with very agreeable entertainments, and they took a singular pleasure in discoursing in the circles which were form'd about them at court towards evening, thereby to be instructed, and render'd worthy of that society they were necessarily to be engag'd in with the most learned men: For, according to a custom

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custom as antient in Egypt as monarchy itself, the priests, as austere as they were in their sacerdotal functions, frequented the assemblies at court. The first design of this custom was to keep up a spirit of religion in their kings, and a decorum in courts, where, contrary to the custom of other nations, the women were allowed freedom of conversation with the men. The priests themselves had this advantage by it, that in return for their sciences they learned politeness from the courtiers: and both together made up that mixture, which perhaps alone deserves the name of good company; that is, of persons of distinction join'd with men of wit and learning. Rules for conversation were needless among persons whose minds were so form'd: and as no one presum'd to speak beyond the measure of his genius and knowledge, every person at court, tho' in different degrees of learning, render'd himself almost equally valued. It was even a maxim with the Egyptians, that a refin'd wit was not the greatest qualification a man could have, not only with respect to the affairs of state and war, which of course were preferably put into the hands of men of deep knowledge and experience; but even with regard to the common intercourses of life, and the agreeableness of conversation: so that profess'd wits were no otherwise esteem'd than as they render'd themselves agreeable by their affability,

lity, modesty, and other qualities common to men of honour. In short, in a nation where every subject, animated by a reciprocal emulation, discharg'd his function or employ equally well, that real esteem they had one for the other added a harmony to society, now hardly any where known.

THIS solidity of mind, which appear'd in the employments, and even conversations of the Egyptians, extended to matters of mere entertainment. They were admirers of elegant writing in prose and verse: but having in general a more favourable opinion of men of a common genius who render'd themselves useful by their knowledge, than of those fine wits, who only supply'd the publick with vain amusements, they reconcil'd both by this unquestionable maxim, that the great man in point of learning was he who cultivated a profuseness of wit with as large a degree of knowledge. In consequence of this maxim, universally received, there appear'd very few authors who had not treasur'd up a stock of reading sufficient to be the guide and support of their own reflections. Hence it was that the readers found a great deal of instruction even in those books, which seem'd to be written only for pleasure and diversion. And thus those who presided over learning prevented, as well in authors as readers, that taste for trifles which
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is the stumbling-block of polite nations, and soon becomes a greater hinderance to noble undertakings, than simplicity and impoliteness. As for poets, they were very severe in examining their notions of virtue and vice ; and undeceiv'd them in the opinion they almost all fell into, that morality was an innate knowledge, which required no study to attain to. But poetry was absolutely forbid to persons convicted of dissolute and irregular morals. By this they secured themselves from a publick evil, always found among the Greeks ; which was, that whenever authors became scandalous in their persons, they were the first who took upon them to reform mankind by satire, almost always levell'd at persons of such merit, whom a just reputation plac'd above them. The antient Lacedemonians, in imitation of the Egyptians, forbid every vicious man even to mention a moral maxim. And in effect what are poets, who, as we have frequent instances among the Greeks, undertaking to represent the characters of virtuous men in their poems, but who having themselves no idea or knowledge of virtue, never set it in a just light : or, which is yet more pernicious, give an advantageous turn to vice conceal'd under the larve of false heroism ?

IN the palace of Memphis were two peculiar galleries, which not only serv'd as schools
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for sculptors and painters, but for the learned were the richest monument they could desire for the history of these two arts. At the entrance into one of these galleries were on the right and on the left columns of wood or stone, roughly hewn, about the height and thickness of a man. The name of the god, or hero, which was design'd to be represented, was written upon some of them; and that was all the sculpture of the first times. Advancing farther, human form began to unfold itself more and more: but the two legs were as yet join'd together, and the two arms glued to the body at their full length. By degrees the members were loosen'd from the trunk, and plac'd in the postures of action. From thence they came to elegant attitudes, and soon to miracles of art. For as soon as man has found out the good in any art whatsoever, he rises with a prodigious rapidity to the excellent. The Grecian sculpture pass'd thro' the same degrees; and Plutarch relates, that the Spartiates call'd all those figures they had of the Dioscuri, or the two brothers Castor and Pollux, Docanes. They were two beams * plac'd upright, and join'd together at top by a cross piece of timber. Dædalus was the first who brought out of Egypt into Greece the art of putting the arms of statues in an acting, and the legs in a

* *Doces* in Greek signifies a beam.

walk-

walking posture. The Greeks were so surpriz'd at this new attitude, that they chain'd down their statues made in this manner, for fear they should run away; and Plato observes, that statues which were fasten'd to pedestals yielded a greater price than others; as slaves who were not addicted to elopement. There is even something more in it: for tho', on the testimony of the Greeks, who had seen the statues of Dædalus, they were, with respect to the sculpture, not brought to that pitch of perfection, to which Phidias and Praxiteles brought theirs; he had given them, by means of some inward springs, a real motion. Aristotle himself, quoting Philip the comick writer, assures us, that Dædalus had carv'd a statue of Venus in wood, which mov'd by means of quicksilver he had pour'd into the inside of it. Be it as it will with regard to the truth or circumstances of this fact; these allegations will suffice to make us take the description Homer gives us of the moving figures in Achilles's buckler in a literal sense, notwithstanding those interpreters who will reduce the description of it to that of a common picture or basso-relievo, the figures of which are represented as moving, tho' they are in reality motionless. And it is easy to discover, that Homer, in his description of this buckler, had in view this art of Dædalus, more famous in his days than in ours. But nothing is of greater honour to the

the Egyptian sculpture, than that piece of history with which the first book of Diodorus Siculus concludes. The most famous sculptors of Greece, says this author, were train'd up in the schools of Egypt. Such are Telecles and Theodorus, the sons of Roecus, who made the statue of Apollo Pythius, now at Samos; in such manner that Telecles having made one half of it at Samos, while his brother Theodorus made the other half at Ephesus, the two pieces fitted so exactly, that the whole figure seem'd to be by one hand. This peculiar art, which is but little known, continues he, to the Grecian sculptors, is very much cultivated by the Egyptians: for these don't judge of a figure, as the Greeks, barely by the eye; but measuring all the parts one by the other, they carve the stones which are to form a statue separately, and with the utmost accuracy. For this end they divided a human body into 21 parts and $\frac{1}{4}$. So when the workmen had once agreed among themselves upon the height of the figure, every one made that part which fell to his share, and they join'd in such manner as was astonishing to those who were not acquainted with this art. But the two pieces of Apollo of Samos join according to the height of the body; and tho' the arms are stretch'd out, as in action, and the legs are in the posture of a man walking, it is every where correspondent,

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and the whole figure is in the most exact equilibrium. In short, this piece of workmanship, which is finish'd according to the Egyptian method, is very little inferior to the most accomplish'd pieces of Egypt itself.

THE other gallery was appropriated to painting. The first that appear'd in view were boards whited over, upon which the objects, generally describ'd in black, were so ill drawn, that the painter thought himself oblig'd to write on the side of each; This is a man; This is a horse; This is a tree. Advancing farther, were draughts which seem'd to have been mark'd out round the shadow of an object set in the sun. In the following pictures the perfection of draught and variety of colours increas'd visibly. The Egyptians, as the Greeks, had for a long time only four: and we know that Zeuxis, Polygnotus, and Timanthes made use of no more. Echion, Nicomachus, Protogenes, and finally Apelles, were those, who, with their different compound colours, found out all the shadowings of nature. There are yet to be seen, in a grotto not far from Thebes, paintings which are remaining from the times of the antient kings of that dynasty, the colours of which are as lively as if but just laid on*. But the

* Paul Luc. t. 6. p. 69.

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more modern Egyptians did not fall into the fault with which Denis of Halicarnassus reproaches the modern Greek painters ; that they endeavour'd to cover the neglect of design by the variety and liveliness of their colours. The Egyptians compar'd those who preferr'd colours to design in painting, to those who in eloquence and poetry preferr'd bright thoughts to those which are just. Cicero, the master and pattern of latin eloquence, applying his reflection to oratory, says, That we soon grow weary of those pictures which at first sight attract us by force of colours ; whereas we are constant in our admiration of those that excel in the beauty of design, which is the true character of antiquity *.

To conclude ; the musick-gallery, where, on certain days, were held concerts of voices and instruments, was likewise a treasure for the antiquities of this art. Here 'twas found that the shalm, the shepherd's flute, and other wind instruments, were the first invented ; and here was even shewn the flute of several pipes of unequal lengths, that was in use before Osiris invented the single flute, which express'd all the tones of the former. This hero had those hymns which he sung in honour to the gods accompany'd by it ; and the

* See, on the two foregoing articles, Junius de *pictura veterum*.

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verses, according to Plutarch, contain'd those precepts which he gave to the people, whom he had got together, and was desirous to civilize. The same Osiris in time invented the trumpet and kettle-drums, to animate the soldiers he made use of in his conquests. Mercury afterwards invented the harp; which leaves the musician the liberty of adding his voice and words to the sound of his instrument. In some ancient monuments this god is describ'd with a harp of seven strings; the two extremes of which, as they pretended, being struck together, form'd the diapazon or octave, even before the last string but one, which renders it compleat, was introduc'd into the diatonick system *. Next to the harps, they shew'd in this gallery at Memphis, the first tables, or the first bodies of instruments, that are of so much service to strengthen the sounds, which are too weak in a single circumference of solid wood, as that which supports the strings of the harp. They came at last to the instruments with necks, or which were touch'd at a distance; in which the fingers forming the sounds, find, upon a lesser number of strings, a greater number of tetra-chords, and even of octaves, can pass indifferently thro' all the moods, and have full scope to perform whatever the imagination of the boldest composer

* See that excellent treatise of the musick of the antients, ascrib'd to M. l'Abbe de Chateauneuf.

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can produce. Diodorus was but ill inform'd of the fact, when he said, the Egyptians did not cultivate musick. On the contrary, it was of them Pythagoras got such a taste of it, as to admit of harmony in the skies, and apply the proportions of it to the general constitution of the universe. The Egyptians encourag'd their young men and maidens to learn and perform every species of musick, to render them more polite and more agreeable: And, in imitation of them it was, that the Greeks plac'd musick in the number of those things necessary to the education of youth.

WE see by this faint sketch, that however valuable private education may be, it never can have the advantages of this publick education of the Egyptians: But what seems to be the most valuable in it, is, that youth is not abandon'd, as in our modern educations, as soon as they come out of their infancy; that is, at a time when their judgments being better form'd, are susceptible of knowledge, either more abstruse in itself, or of more service to the publick, and when they have most need of help to suppress the first flights of youth: So we see that this Stage, which is the most propitious to the female sex, because they are more carefully guarded than in any other, is the most extravagant in the male, who are abandon'd to their own passions,

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not easily govern'd, if they be not endow'd with excellent natural talents. Levity of mind, an aversion to duty, and a neglect of time, now so fashionable among the Greek and Roman youths, would have been a blemish upon their honour in Egypt, even in the eyes of the ladies, who had any concern for them; and, as the only mark of a court truly polite, there were no advances to their favour but by merit and wisdom. But above all I must not forget to observe, that the exercises, and even the labours of the Egyptian youth secured them from that fatal weariness of mind, that general distaste which accompanies ours even in the very height of their debauchery.

T H E R E were, indeed, at that time, some young men more sollicitous for present pleasure than future merit, who thought these studies and conversations a burden: And ladies, who qualify'd only to discourse of their constitutions, taste and dress, were uneasy that they could not carry these their only objects of entertainment into the palace, and make them general. And by such Daluca was soon seconded in her resolution of bringing into evil repute these learned schools, the fountains of that merit she had most to fear, and to break off those instructive conferences of all kinds, in which the rules of a most refin'd moral were frequently the subject.

ject. The method she pitch'd on, as most expedient for her design, was, to give the privilege of keeping assemblies, and the sole empire of conversation, to such ladies of the court as she had observ'd the most vain, and who had the faculty of talking loud and long upon nothing, when they found it was countenanc'd. The queen, under pretext of being extreamly taken up with the affairs of state, appear'd very seldom in these assemblies herself, and prevented the king from going to them, by amusing him as much as possible with other private diversions: But having before confer'd the chief offices at court upon ladies of the character I have just describ'd, she deputed them to perform the honours of the palace in her room, and to preside in her name at the conversation of those circles which were form'd in her absence. These ladies, like the queen, had all pass'd their meridian, and having made no provision to supply the loss of exterior beauties, by the more valuable qualities of the mind, were but just before bewailing their abandon'd state: But being now rais'd by an excess of favours, which the queen seem'd to heap upon them, were extreamly subservient to her design, without so much as knowing it. They were always ready to interrupt any discourse that might but favour of learning or ingenuity; but they were not often put to the trouble:

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for their own perpetual talk was so vain, and so little approv'd, that no man of sense could find room, or thought it worth while, to put in a word. It was observ'd, that they were continually whispering to one another in these assemblies, and ridiculing certain persons, who in the preceding administration had been greatly respected, tho' in the present they were not thought necessary. By these odious freedoms they drew upon themselves a contempt, which waited only for an opportunity of displaying itself, and which already very sensibly lessen'd the regard otherwise had to them and the whole sex. In the mean time, all persons of good sense and merit by degrees absented from these assemblies, where they perceiv'd their company was a burden : And thus the court, which was wont to be the center of good taste in all manner of subjects, and the model of purity for the Egyptian tongue, was become the abode of ignorance, or of indifferency to every thing that was the object of good sense and reason. The language itself being corrupted with improper terms, and a neglected pronunciation, became a jargon of the fancy ; which being without rule, was ty'd down to none. The writings of those who formerly frequented the court were known by a just and natural elegance, in a great measure owing to their intercourse with ladies of the most polite parts, in whom
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it eminently abounded : But the modern wits, who succeeded them, forgetting that language must always have the sanction of the publick, introduc'd, of their own private authority, an infinite number of fantastick terms and expressions, which so far from being adapted by custom, were carefully avoided by all correct authors.

ON the other hand, the young nobility, seeing that probity and good breeding was as little required in the men, as prudence and behaviour in the women, and that every thing depended on favour, abandon'd all those exercises of mind and body which they had till then pursued, that they might devote themselves to these new creatures of the queen. The grand art was to persuade them, by force of flattery, to believe they were possess'd of those charms which they themselves had given over for lost ; and they began to hope, that Daluca having brought their age into fashion, youth would be no more regarded. The beauties of the court of Memphis had always had their admirers ; accomplish'd merit on both sides was generally the origin of the passions they excited. A desire only of gaining the esteem of a charming person, produc'd such endeavours after virtue and valour, as was admir'd by the publick, without knowing their first cause ;

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But as for the modern intrigues *, they were owing to a mutual conformity of bad taste and bad choice ; their beginning was debauchery, and a communication of vices between the pretended lovers were the fruits of them. It was an observation in former times, that those who had been singled out, and train'd up by certain ladies of the court, became the most accomplish'd men : But for these, the beauties of the mind, or a total want of them, were qualities they had no discernment of, and were equally indifferent to ; and they entertain'd no hopes of making any advantage by persons of a too distinguish'd probity. In times past, the most discerning had no other way of discovering a passion between two persons, but by a greater circumspection in the one, and a more irreproachable behaviour in the other. But now the new favourite of each of these ladies was immediately known to every one ; and they were sooner put out of countenance, when complimented upon that account, than their mistresses themselves.

THE queen, who at a distance saw this progress, began already to gather the fruits of

* The author seems here to have in view the licentiousness of the court of the empress Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius. See the history of the Roman empresses, by M. de Servies.

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her endeavours, by the contempt, hatred and jealousy which was fomented among the courtiers. Both men and women, as she had foreseen, were totally lost to all good manners, by a dissipation and levity of mind. There was not one among them who had not taken a steady resolution to sacrifice virtue, honour and duty to the least smile of fortune; and nothing less than adversity, or the most terrible events, were capable of awaking them from this infatuation: Even the ministers of state, who till then had every moment of their time so taken up, either in their different employs, or in recreating themselves in their families, that they never stir'd out of their closets, but to council, or to give audience to the publick, thought themselves now under an obligation of making their court to these ladies in authority; and all the assiduity they formerly employ'd in the affairs of state, was now necessary to keep them in their places: To continue in their favour, it was not enough to comply with their fantastick humours, to administer to their ruinous pleasures, to provide immense entertainments for them; they insisted, that all their recommendations should take place, tho' they were ever in favour of some unjust cause, or unworthy object; and that their counsels, tho' most pernicious to their prince, should be approv'd, in consideration of a small gain to them. Thus, tho' the deceas'd queen
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had left all things in so excellent an order, that they might have subsisted, and even held out against mal-administration for a long time, yet the state was rushing on very fast towards its ruin. Peace, which, especially in dominions of so small extent as those of Egypt, is not to be preserv'd but by secret springs of the cabinet, and by a regard shewn, at least in appearance, to neighbouring princes, soon was shaken by a neglect of cultivating their friendship, by the little satisfaction given to their ambassadors, and by the infringement of several laws, which concern'd the tranquillity of all Egypt, and its security against enemies from abroad. And thus Daluca, with a view only of prejudicing Sethos, expos'd the welfare of the kingdom and her own safety to all the ill consequences of so pernicious a conduct.

BUT while this unworthy queen was thus fomenting disorders, the wise Amedes was assiduous in the education of the young prince, whose fate had destin'd him to be first the victim, and afterwards the repairer of them. He did not, in express terms, discover to him the disgrace he perceiv'd he was already fall'n into; a condition not easy to be conceiv'd by a child of eight or nine years of age, especially when disguis'd under those professions of kindness and flattering caresses which Daluca hitherto continued to shew to Sethos.

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But the chief aim of Amedes was to inspire him with the principles of every virtue, which he might stand in need of to support him in the most adverse fortune. He put him in mind of his illustrious birth, to make him sensible not of the respect due to him from others, but of what he owed to himself. He gave him lively ideas, not of a prince surrounded by his obsequious subjects and slavish courtiers, but of a prince dethron'd by usurpers, and residing among foreigners, where he would have no other grandeur but that of his own mind, and his personal courage. The questions he propos'd to him, either to discover his sentiments, or to exercise his talents, were generally upon perilous and intricate circumstances, which a prince could not extricate himself from without the greatest courage, nor sustain without the highest pitch of probity. He did not, however, at any time, wholly bereave him of the hopes of peaceably enjoying the kingdom to which he was the lawful heir: but he instructed him, that the principles of those morals fitting to be practis'd in danger or adversity, or rather, that danger and adversity themselves naturally lead a prince to a regular and advantageous enjoyment of peace and happiness. With regard to the religion of his ancestors, Amedes instructed him therein, in a concise, plain and consistent manner with regard to facts, but laid

laid great stress upon the examples and moral precepts he drew from them.

IT is common to give princes only general ideas of the sciences ; and, indeed, it is sufficient, if they be but acquainted with as much as will make them friends and protectors of them. But Amedes was desirous, that whatever might be his fate, his pupil should attain to all the merit of a private person. He also concluded, that Sethos being yet too young to comprehend the great maxims of government, politicks and war, could not better employ the first years of his tuition, than by initiating him early into all the Egyptian sciences. Youth has this peculiar advantage, that men never arrive to perfection in any arts or sciences, if they don't overcome the main difficulties of them while they are young: And to give a disadvantageous instance as to my own part alone, I must confess I have, in different stages of my life, endeavour'd to acquire those sciences which are esteem'd among the Greeks, but have never been able to attain to more than reading and writing in such a manner as I am satisfy'd with, they being the only arts that became easy to me in the days of my youth. However, as human knowledge is of so vast an extent, that not youth alone, but life itself is hardly sufficient to attain it ; this
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great master inform'd his pupil, that he should make him acquainted only with the first rudiments of the sciences ; and that those who rest satisfy'd with that part they have gone thro' in this first stage of life, ought modestly to confess their ignorance.

AMÉDES perceiv'd that this young prince gave every day new signs of an admirable genius. He had form'd no decisive judgment upon that agreeableness, that vivacity and wit which he frequently observ'd in him during his mother's life, when he was surrounded with the flattering smiles of fortune : such indications are not always to be depended upon, because those repartees which we think so witty in children, are often but an effect of the liberty allow'd them, and generally bestow'd upon trivial occasions ; and consequently no conclusion can be drawn from thence applicable to that period of time in which they are to employ their thoughts upon solid and serious subjects. But in natural philosophy, our master could hardly keep pace with the docility of his scholar ; and in history he had much ado to satisfy his unbounded curiosity : So for his own ease, and the more readily to accustom young Sethos to be his own instructor, he exercis'd him in the former, by putting him upon experiments and the solution of difficulties ; and in the latter, by making him read the most celebrated
authors

authors from the beginning to the end ; and afterwards obliging him to give coherent abridgments of every history. He made him acquainted in the first, with the progress of human understanding, and the advancement of the sciences from one century to another ; and in the second, with the great men and the best writers of all the ages past.

He likewise carry'd him every day, at certain hours, into the schools we have mention'd above, which were not now so crowded as in former times ; but then they were sure of meeting there the flower of the youth of Memphis, and all those who had not been yet corrupted by the present taste of the court. Our own application must render us masters of the sciences ; but the knowledge of applying them rightly is only to be acquir'd by conversing with men of understanding and merit. Besides, Amedes, without affecting at an improper time to oppose the queen's measures, was desirous of making Sethos known to the youth of the kingdom, who were growing up with him. The history of the infancy of Sesostris was yet recent in his memory. This prince was no sooner born, than his father Amenophis caus'd all the infants of his kingdom, who were born on the same day with his son, to be brought before him ; he provided them with nurses, appointed tutors for them, and gave them all the same education ;

tion ; being persuaded, that children who had been brought up in a familiarity with their prince from their most tender years, would the more firmly adhere to him in the course of his life, and would serve him best in his wars. Amedes was moreover desirous that Sethos should converse in the publick assemblies with those foreigners, whom the fame of Egypt drew thither from all the parts of the world, where knowledge and good manners were cultivated. Men of attention gather new knowledge in the conversation even of such as have less than themselves ; and the Egyptians, at the same time they communicated their instructions to others, became more learned themselves. Besides, as the greater number of those who came into Egypt, were led thither, either to obtain the initiation, or to perfect themselves in the sciences, and sometimes for both, they were generally the greatest men of every nation. These strangers, it is natural to conceive, apply'd themselves with a great deal of care to the learning of the Egyptian tongue : And the most curious among the Egyptians studied those of other nations. The priests divided all the languages of the known world among themselves, that they might be able to give satisfaction to all those who apply'd to them for advice from every quarter. To this end they sent the most expert among them, disguised like merchants, into the most distant states.

states. The laity, who were destined to the war, or to trade, generally confin'd themselves to the Phenician, the Greek, and the Punick tongues. The first gave them access at the chief courts of Asia, the second to those of Europe, and the third in Africa: But the Egyptian tongue was in some degree the common source of these three; for the Phenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians were Egyptian colonies. A knowledge of the Egyptian tongue was therefore in a great measure a key to the others. Amedes, however, let Sethos learn the first rudiments of the latter, but he left him to acquire a perfection in them by practice, and the frequent conversation he procur'd him with such strangers, as appear'd to him the most knowing.

THE education of Sethos was not confin'd to the improvement of his mind; Amedes put him also upon exercises of the body: He even took advantage of the neglect which he saw this young prince suffer'd from a father, who was govern'd by a second wife, to make him submit to those, which he render'd more laborious or more perilous in proportion as he advanc'd in years. This is a sort of trial which the best of parents are but too backward in putting their children to; and to which Amedes himself had, perhaps, not expos'd an undoubted heir to the crown: But he look'd upon his pupil as one, who, like
a private

a private person, was to make his own fortune.

HE made him walk on foot to all the places near Memphis, with a double view, first to inure him to hardship, and then to make him take notice of every thing that was remarkable in his own country, which is often more neglected than foreign curiosities : Above all, he carry'd him more than once to the Pyramids. In his time there were a hundred, but of very different sizes, all together in one place, at about four miles distant from Memphis, towards Libya. In all Egypt there were none but at this place, and about Thebes : the kings of which two cities, in imitation of one another, had been curious in giving this form to their tombs, or of leaving these monuments of their own grandeur and power. Amedes was willing to exhaust this subject, that his pupil might draw advantages from it of several kinds. Sethos had often heard talk of these enormous piles ; and Amedes expected they would at first sight make the same impresson upon this young prince, as they do upon travellers who come to see this wonder of the world, from the remotest parts of it : that is, they always find them less than they expected. Amedes did not neglect this opportunity of making Sethos observe, that the eye of man is never absolutely contented with the bigness of

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things artificial, unless they be carry'd to a distance as far as the sight can reach : but it is not so with respect to things which are determin'd by nature ; as animals or trees, which we don't love to see represented beyond their usual proportion : Hence it is, said he, that this bust of a sphinx or woman fix'd on the ground among the pyramids, which is forty feet high, seems of a monstrous bulk to you ; whereas the great pyramid which takes up more than a furlong every way, appears too little in your eye. Another reason for this is, because its height not being quite equal to the length of one side of its basis, it must of course look squat and low. So, added he, with regard to buildings, we can never justify ourselves, if the proportion of their dimensions be not graceful, and according to the rules of art. Notwithstanding all which, continued he, observe the pyramids more nearly, they are not less wonderful, and you'll soon see just cause to admire them. Make a trial yourself, in the first place, by the surest methods you have been taught in the academies of Memphis, to take the four cardinal points ; see how exactly the four sides answer with the winds*. And besides, as large as the most beautiful temples of Memphis may seem to you, there is not one of them whose dimensions come near

* See the elogium of M. de Chafelles, by M. de Fontenelle, in his memoirs of the academy of sciences. Ann. 1710.

to those of the great pyramid; tho' the form of our temples has something more agreeable and engaging.

* IN reality, the basis of the first and largest pyramid, the surface of which is to this day entire, is in every square 704 feet; and † its perpendicular height 630. The whole pyramid is compos'd of courses or lays of bricks, which grow narrower in proportion as they ascend to the top, where there is a platform of twelve feet square. The borders of these courses, which gradually decrease towards the top, serve as steps to ascend to it. Of all those who used to accompany Sethos and Amenes to see the pyramids, only some few of the most venturesome attempted to go up to this platform; but none durst come down again otherwise than backwards, as well to have the assistance of their hands, as for fear the height and vast extent of the prospect might make them giddy. Sethos, who before had gone thro' many hazardous exercises, could not comprehend why Amenes should not indulge him in this, of which he was in

* This whole description is taken from de Bruyen's travels in folio, and the notes added to them in the quarto edition.

† That is five feet or a pace more than the olympick furlong determin'd by Hercules, who ran 125 paces, or 625 feet in one breath. This is the common computation, saving the interpretations of the learned; for this distance seems no such great matter for Hercules.

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no wife fearful. Amedes at last told him, that the concern he had for his life and honour, wou'd not suffer him to expose him to this trial, till he was able to descend the pyramid with his face toward the plain. It is not becoming, continu'd he, a prince, as you are, to shew the least sign of fear upon any account whatsoever. Amedes had hardly done speaking, when the prince, running to the pyramid, and placing his hands upon the lowermost step, which is four feet high, he ascended from one to another with wonderful agility and ease, till he came to those of but one foot high, which he walk'd up like common stairs, and was soon at top of the platform. As soon as he had recover'd breath, he turn'd toward the spectators, who were in great numbers at the foot of the pyramid, and came down with as little concern as if it had been a cover'd stair-case of equal and easy steps. His example render'd the enterprize more common; and seven or eight young lords, who from that time devoted themselves more particularly to his service, always attended him, as much as possible, as well in his exercises as his expeditions. It had likewise been an error establish'd either by the timorousness which was apt to seize people at top of the pyramid, or by an idea conceiv'd from the vast extent of the basis, that it was impossible to shoot an arrow from the top to fall beyond the lowermost
step

step at bottom. This error prevails yet among us; and all travellers, who are too apt to enlarge upon things, mention the impossibility of it. The prince, even before he made the trial, was sensible of this error: Being well assur'd of the length of the four equal sides of the basis, he boldly engag'd to shoot an arrow from the middle of the platform, which should fall not only beyond one of the faces, but even beyond one of the angles of the pyramid, being directed in a diagonal line; which, according to the exact calculation he had made of it, could not be 500 feet, and hardly above half the distance an arrow will fly when discharg'd by an able archer.

WE have hitherto only spoken of the surface of the pyramid; but Sethos was continually urging Amedes to let him see the inside of it. If the king who erected it had been interr'd in it, the prophane, such as Sethos yet was, would not have been permitted to enter: but it being an empty tomb, every one who had the patience and resolution, was allow'd to go in. As there were several deep and dark passages, Amedes was persuaded, that this trial would be an excellent remedy against those panick fears, which are apt to seize many people in the dark, and against the apprehension of bugbears, with which common reports then fill'd all unin-

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habited places, as it does now : But this view was nothing to a far greater design which he had conceiv'd upon this occasion, and which was to be the crown of Sethos's education.

AMÉDES, therefore, returning one evening with him alone, and directing his discourse to him, said, My prince, to view the inside of the pyramid in such a manner as will be necessary for you, is an enterprize very different from what you think it to be : The secret passages of it lead those men, who are favour'd by the gods, to a point I dare not so much as name ; for which the gods must create a desire in you. The entrance into the pyramid is open to every body ; but I pity those, who coming out by the same way they went in, have only satisfy'd a very imperfect curiosity, and seen no more than what they are allow'd to relate. A discourse so uncommon as this was to the young prince, fill'd him with an impatience, which made him resolve instantly to unriddle this mystery, by deceiving even his governor's vigilance, if he refus'd to accompany him. Amédes, who read this resolution in his looks, did not give him time to answer, but continu'd ; Sir, I will conduct you myself to this enterprize, which it is almost impossible to begin alone, tho' it must be finish'd alone : But I must not expose you to the dangers that attend it, till opportunities,

tunities, which may offer hereafter, have given me sufficient proofs of your valour, and especially of your prudence. I have reason to be satisfy'd with the marks you have already given me of both. The age you are now approaching to, will demand greater of you, and will soon furnish you with means of shewing them. Don't give way then to your impatience, but place your confidence in me; and begin, by keeping, as a secret, that little I have now reveal'd to you, to accustom your self to greater. The young prince, who could not yet fix an idea to the sense of these words, told Amedes, that, without diving farther into the mystery in question, the first mark he would give of the prudence his tutor wish'd to see in him, should be to confide entirely in his conduct.





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S E T H O S.

B O O K III.



HE war with which the king of Memphis was threaten'd, particularly on the part of Thebes, fill'd Sethos with a secret joy ; for he concluded, that war only would furnish him with means of making those experiments which Amedes expected from him. This wise governor, who perceiv'd it, told him one day, that tho' in the enterprize he had

had mention'd to him, on occasion of the pyramid, there were no blows nor combating with armed enemies requir'd ; he could not enough commend the good there was in the confus'd sentiment which had inclin'd him to war ; but, added he, I should ill perform the function I have the honour of exercising in the service of a prince born to the throne, if I did not inform him, that a king, who loves his subjects, always looks upon war as a misfortune : and, in order to prevent it, uses all efforts that do not derogate either from his establish'd rights, or his due honour. From this maxim, deeply engraven in the heart of a king, results a principle of true bravery, the more ardent in the defence of his own property, as it is less inclin'd to invade that of others. Most princes, who upon every occasion are taking up arms, spend their days in a continual alternative of good or bad success, which makes their enemies fear them but little, and value them less ; Whereas on the contrary, a prince who is steadfast in his just pretensions, and gives no subject of complaint to his neighbours, is respected : Remember therefore, my lord, never to make war from a fancy or inclination to it ; but when you are compell'd to it, do it in such a manner as may take away that pleasure and inclination in your enemy. Sethos answer'd, that he was sensible of the importance of this advice to a prince actually upon

upon the throne; but, continu'd he, the war I am inclin'd to, is a war in which I have no part, and in which all I have to do is, to fight for the king my father, without enquiring, as I take it I have no right to do, into the merits of the cause. You say true, my lord, reply'd Amedes; and a young prince ought even to set a great value upon every lawful occasion offer'd by which he can give proof of his valour; that whenever he comes to have the care of the tranquillity and happiness of a whole nation, he may avoid a war without being apprehensive of any reflections on that account to the prejudice of his person. However, that your wishes may not be continued for a war, in all appearance so fatal, as that which is kindled against the kingdom, I have laid hold of an opportunity which the gods seem to have thrown into my way, to exercise both your prudence and valour at the same time, and to advantage.

THE frontier-towns of the kingdom of Memphis on the side of Libya, as Plinthinus, Tapofiris, Scyatis, Oasis the lesser, and several others, have acquainted me, by a private deputation, that they have been sorely afflicted by a hideous serpent in their neighbourhood; which, as they believe, has his retreat in a den of mount Aspis, and ravages all the plain, call'd the little Catabathmus; where they

they are oblig'd to seek their sustenance. They at first thought of desiring the assistance of the king's huntsmen ; but then they imagin'd, that the queen, being taken up with affairs which she would think of greater importance, would be little concern'd at a misfortune which could not penetrate to the royal mansions ; and especially as she had already let the nomarchs or governors know, that she requir'd no other care of them, with regard to their provinces, than to levy the imposts, and to prevent revolts. Besides, added he, it is very well known, that the court has no taste for fatiguing and hazardous exercises ; and that of all those who now compose it, not one would be ready to undertake an expedition, where no other advantage is to be hop'd but the welfare of the people. They therefore apply to me in the conclusion, as to the governor of a prince, in whose virtuous inclination the hopes of the whole kingdom center, and whose example animates the flower of the youth of Memphis to the most noble exercises of body and mind : Adding, That if this prince would, under my care, be their leader in the expedition, they would receive him in every place he should pass thro' with all the marks of respect and gratitude due to his rank and worth. I immediately undertook for you, and for some other young lords, your academical companions, who would be proud of the
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the honour of accompanying you. But I told the deputy, that to avoid all appearance of affectation, we would appoint a hunting-match ; that for the same reason we would make no stop, either in going or returning, at any city of note ; and that they should, upon no account, make any preparations to receive you that could have the appearance of ceremony : it was with the same view, that I dispatch'd this deputy as privately as he came, without allowing him so much as to wait on you. Sethos was pleas'd with all these precautions on his part, and thank'd him as well for his zeal as his care. Amedes immediately interrupting him, said, that since he approv'd of all the measures he had taken, he advis'd him to depart early the next morning, to prevent any obstacle that might hinder their journey. That he should therefore employ the remainder of the day in selecting, with all the prudence of an able chief, such of the young noblemen his companions, as best deserv'd to be confided in, because they would find upon the spot all the men they should want to make up a number : And finally, that he should recommend to them all to speak no otherwise of their expedition, than of a customary hunting of wild beasts.

SETHOS having given notice to his eight companions, whom we have already mention'd,

tion'd, they all took horse the next morning, attended only by some slaves, and rode along the north side of the lake Moeris. Amedes, for their greater encouragement, told them, during their journey, that great hunting-matches were by the antient heroes look'd upon as an apprenticeship to war ; not only on account of the long courses they were oblig'd to run, the inconveniencies they were liable to, and, in a word, all the bodily fatigues this exercise demanded of them ; but far more by reason of the judgment, nice observation, and exact knowledge of the hills, valleys, and by-ways, which a hunter was oblig'd to acquire : But, added he, the hunting you are now going about is a real war : Its motive, in the first place, is the only one which in general can render war lawful ; that is, the defence of the people. For whereas hunting with most great men is but a savage passion, which puts them upon destroying the innocent animals of the woods and fields, and often spoiling the lands thro' which they pass ; you are going to deliver a whole people from a monster that destroys their harvest, and devours their sheep and shepherds : nay, you have the resolution to go in search of a dreadful serpent, which, according to report, is of an enormous size and length, cover'd all over with scales, that are proof, as I am inform'd, against all darts.

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darts. Shall we then confine ourselves to shut him up in his den, if we can discover the entrance? But tho' it should have no more than one outlet, it will be easy for him in time to force a way thro'. Shall we be contented to drive him out of the plain of Catabathmus, and beyond the mountains of Libya, by force of our numbers and cries? But as soon as we are departed, he may return again: And besides, it would not be generous to throw upon our neighbours, tho' our enemies, a desolation from which we may have just deliver'd our own country. I dare propose to you, my lords, a project more worthy of you. Let us endeavour to take this monster alive, and carry him in triumph into the king's park. Thereby you will accustom yourselves to an advantageous practice in almost all the incidents of life, which is to prefer skill to force. The youth were all charm'd at this proposal of Amedes, and promis'd him faithfully to obey his orders in the execution of this design. He answer'd them, That prince Sethos, who however should never be out of his sight, must be their leader in this expedition. That by commanding them, he would learn to make an advantageous use, not only of the valour, but of the advice of his officers; and that consequently, as in a well-disciplin'd army, and a war duly concerted, every one would have

have a share in the glory of the success, in proportion not only to his valour, but to his knowledge.

AFTER six days march, our warriors having discover'd the nearest point of mount Aspis, imagin'd that the monster made his retreat thither to be the nearer to the inhabited and fertile plains. They had already observ'd his tracks by means of slime he had left upon the corn and hedges, which he had laid even with the ground. But, as yet, they had not seen any person who could tell them where he was ; because the very noise of his scales, which was to be heard at a great distance, made all the inhabitants of the plain fly before him ; after he had devour'd some persons, who, thinking themselves out of his reach, stopp'd to view him. They only remark'd, that he made a very short stay in places at a little distance from the mountain ; and that he return'd thither as soon as he had made prey of any cattle in the meadows. Our noble hunters, that they might be more sure of their game, continu'd their way toward mount Aspis. They were not above half a league from it, when they discover'd between them and the mountain a large morass, and behind it a sort of hillock, which look'd as if cover'd over with leaves of ising-glass, that glitter'd in the sun. Fixing their eyes upon this object, they soon perceiv'd
some

some motion. They immediately stopp'd to observe it with the greater attention : And it appear'd to be the monster roll'd about itself, that chang'd its posture without shifting its place. Sethos, who now began to exercise his office of commander, address'd himself to the company, and said, My dear companions, as our design is to take this monster alive, I presume, the first thing necessary will be to know exactly his length and bulk, that we may be the better acquainted with the enemy we are to encounter ; and the rather, since without doubt we shall be oblig'd to convey him away, like other savage creatures, in an iron cage, into which we must find means to put him : 'Tis of importance therefore now to know his dimensions, that we may, as soon as possible, order one to be made in the nearest town. In order to this, it is my opinion, that we all march slowly on one side of this animal, like a caravan pursuing its way, without making the least sign of attacking him. It is the nature of all savage animals to avoid mankind, especially when they march in companies, unless they are excited by wrath or hunger. The present tranquil state of this monster gives us no reason to think he is disturb'd by either, so that I fancy he will retire as soon as he sees us. Then let us endeavour to observe at a distance such objects, as trees or large stones, which when he stretches out to his full length,

length, he may reach with the two extremities of his body ; and when we are on the other side of the morass, we will measure the distances. Sethos appointed some of them, whose peculiar business it should be to make these observations : Others he nam'd to remark the bulk of the serpent, by comparing it with the height of any thing he might pass by ; and with the rest, among whom was Amedes, he undertook to keep the monster always in sight, and even to advance near enough to discover, if possible, the entrance into his den. Amedes shew'd by his punctual obedience, his approbation of what his pupil had propos'd.

WHAT Sethos foresaw, actually happen'd. As soon as the serpent perceiv'd at a distance this troop of horsemen, together with the slaves of about twenty persons, he began to unfold himself : His triangular head rising as it were out of the basis of the cone, which was form'd by all the Revolvings of his body, he at first erected, by easy degrees, to the height of two men ; but he immediately popp'd it down again, and made off towards the mountain : With the middle of his body he form'd a ring or circle ; the diameter of which was equal to the height he had lifted his head to : The lower part of this circle towards the tail serv'd as a rest, by means of which he push'd himself forward without any rebound,

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and very slowly. However, the length of each of these motions soon brought him to the foot of the mountain, and left the place entirely free for them to take measure of his track. Upon an exact calculation, they found his length to be near 45 feet, and the thickest part of his body, which was his head, about 6 feet in diameter, or about 18 or 19 in circumference. While most of these young huntsmen were busied in making this calculation, Sethos, Amedes, and three or four more follow'd the monster : They kept as much as possible out of his sight, by going the most round-about or by-ways which the situation of the place would admit of, for fear he should seek to conceal the place of his retreat, as is common for some animals when they find they are discover'd. He compass'd the basis of the first peak of the mountain, till he got almost over-against the morafs from whence he came : Here the basis of the second peak began, and betwixt both was a pretty long and narrow avenue to the serpent's den. Our observers had the pleasure to see him enter at a gap or passage, that he almost fill'd up, and through which he dragg'd his body with difficulty, because he could not form it into a circle as in the open field.

AFTER these observations, which were made the first evening they arriv'd, Sethos conducted

conducted his troop to the place where he propos'd to reside till the conclusion of their expedition; which was in the neighbourhood of Scyathis.

As they were conversing together upon what they had seen, Sethos observ'd to them, that this serpent being by nature much like an adder, its activity lay only in his head, and in the part that might be call'd his tail; which was about twelve feet to the first joint, where his body began to form a circle when he roll'd along. The first degree of valour, added he, and indeed the only one we shall want upon this occasion, is, to know the just extent of the danger, and not to be terrify'd with the approach of it, when in reality we are out of its reach: And even supposing that the rage of the creature should make him more nimble and formidable than it seems to be, yet I judge by his unweildiness, we need only keep at eight or ten feet from him to be secure from all manner of danger.

THE next morning Sethos, accompany'd by Amedes, who had entirely approv'd his project, and by three of their companions, to whom he afterwards open'd it, took their way towards the den. Their design was to enter it when the monster was absent, to see if there was any possibility of laying snares

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there to entrap him. The first of those centinels, whom he had detach'd to observe the monster's motions, had given information that he had quitted his den a little before day, and made directly towards the morafs, into which he plung'd; and that afterward, crawling toward the north-side of the plain, his comrades, before they follow'd him, had agreed, that as fast as one advanc'd, the others behind should be within call of one another, that they might successively give notice one to the other of the monster's return. Sethos being thereby safe from a surprize, enter'd first into the den: They had all provided themselves with light iron boots, a precaution common among the Egyptians, when they only walk'd in the fields, to secure them against those stinging insects which come with the African winds in some seasons of the year. On the left, they found a natural arch, where, at intervals, drops of water trickled down a stony sloaping soil; and on the right, a bed of clay, which by several marks seem'd to be the place where the serpent lay: At the end of this cavern was another opening, thro' which they might have gone farther: But as they were not led thereby a motive of curiosity, they did not go near to it. It was enough for Sethos, that he found the inside of the cave was capacious enough to hold a cage, contriv'd in such a manner as might serve not only to contain the animal,

mal, when taken, but as a trap to catch him. So having made all the observations necessary for this design, he left the cave, and hasten'd to Scyathis, where, with his four companions, he apply'd himself immediately to the chief magistrates, and demanded of them for his atchievement 3000 men of the militia of their province, but not of those appointed for the military service of the year: He told them, that tho' he believ'd these soldiers capable of exposing themselves to the greatest perils in case of necessity, he would be answerable for every danger, if they punctually obey'd the orders of the young lords he should appoint to be their captains. He order'd the troops to be ready in three days at Scyathis, arm'd with bucklers, swords and quivers of arrows, without forgetting their trumpets and kettle-drums. And to conclude, he desir'd an order might be sent to all the smiths in the town to apply themselves immediately to the making of a machine according to the plan he should give them.

THIS young prince having obtain'd his demands, with great acknowledgements from those who granted them, he order'd the smiths to make a cage of eight feet square, and fifty long: The sides were to be of bars of iron, so contriv'd as to be taken out, and set in again with ease. The master bars, which were to receive the extremities of the others,

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were

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were likewise to be rivetted in one another, and the whole to be plac'd upon low wheels, at ten feet distance : At the entrance into this cage were to be plac'd spikes of iron, in such manner that they might give way to the monster at going in ; but if he should endeavour to come out, might fasten in his scales and stop him. The reason for ordering it in several pieces, was not only that several smiths might work at it at the same time, but that it might be transported in several parts with ease to the place where it was to be employ'd. The whole was undertaken, and perform'd in three days ; and the troops being assembled at the same time, Sethos appointed the fourth day in the morning for the execution of the enterprize.

HAVING plac'd centinels the evening before, as he did the first time, to observe which way the monster took at leaving his den in the morning, he caus'd all the pieces of the cage to be transported thither in carts by day-break. It was put together in less than three hours, and stopp'd at the end, and on both sides, by pieces of the rock which they found in the cavern. The mouth of the cage being a little wider than the entrance into the den, it would not be perceiv'd by the monster, especially in the disturbance which Sethos propos'd to give him. He next order'd a detachment of his troops to
file

file off one by one, with the greatest silence, toward the place where they knew the serpent then was, and to get beyond him to the other side of the entrance into the cave ; while another detachment beset his haunt. At this first motion, the monster, who did not yet perceive he was pursu'd, made the best of his way, as he had done before, towards his cave : but discovering a long train of people at a distance, he stopp'd, and soon after began to hiss in a horrible manner. Sethos's companions then gave orders for the troops to join, and to close their ranks by degrees : At the same time he caus'd them to sound all their trumpets, and beat their kettledrums, while one part of the soldiers, as they had agreed, clasp'd their swords upon their bucklers ; and a greater number, gall'd him with thousands of arrows. The monster perceiving he had resolute enemies to encounter with, who notwithstanding his motions and furious menaces, baffled him, by drawing near to, and retiring from him, and who besides had shut up all retreat but to his den, hasten'd thither faster than he had done before. The noise of the military instruments, the shouts of the soldiers, and the storm of arrows, pursu'd him more and more. It was observ'd, that soon after he had got his head into the cage, he made an attempt to slip back again ; but being stopp'd by the spikes of the bars, and finding himself more closely

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pursu'd,

pursu'd, he chose to take refuge in his prison. He push'd forwards with all the activity he was capable of, deceiv'd, perhaps, by the hopes of getting out at the other end, and escaping by those out-lets which he knew were in his cavern. He was immediately follow'd by those who were order'd to put in the bars at the entrance into the cage; who having likewise widen'd the entrance into the den, with the help of tools they had convey'd thither for that purpose, they drew the cage out with a long team of horses. The inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages, who were there in throngs to be eye-witnesses of this expedition, saw the monster stretch'd out at his length, and turning his eyes sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, without any marks of fury. Sethos disbanded his troops on the spot, without returning to the town, that he might avoid all the ceremonies of thanks. He commended their exact obedience to the least signs given to them by their commanders, in which they were exercised perfectly. The monster was drawn in his cage backwards, that all objects which might present to his view in the passage, might the less disturb him: And thus he was conducted to the lake Moeris; where Sethos, for the greater ease, put him on board a vessel to be convey'd by water. Sethos and his companions accompany'd him to Memphis; but he would not
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allow any food to be given him during the whole passage, well knowing that serpents would live much longer without eating.

DIODORUS * relates the hunting and taking of a serpent of as monstrous a size as this; And our own travellers pretend to have seen some of above 100 feet long; but no one ever question'd the truth of Diodorus's relation of that monster he mention'd in the place quoted. It was brought out of Ethiopia to Alexandria in the reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus. The generosity of this prince, which was to none more extensive, than to those who presented him with curiosities, was a motive to some bold men to make him a present of this kind. Some of them lost their lives at the first onset; but at last, they tam'd the monster by expedients not very different from those I have related from my authors, under the name of Sethos. Diodorus adds, that by fasting they made him as tame as other domestick animals,

THO' Osoroth was not so taken with the wonders of nature, or the industry of men, as Ptolomy has since been, he receiv'd his son, and the young noblemen his companions, with great encomiums. The queen, for her part, was secretly disturb'd at this first

* Lib. 3,

exploit

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exploit of Sethos ; and Amedes thinking to overcome evil with good, from this time hastned to render Sethos more worthy of her jealousy. He thought he might now rely securely enough upon his pupil's prudence and courage, to execute the scheme he had form'd for his advantage : but it would oblige him to be absent three or four months from court ; however, he did not think it would be difficult to obtain leave. The queen seldom allow'd Sethos to see the king, who, conformable to his character, as seldom ask'd after him ; and the vanity and corruption of the court made the courtiers have no great regard for the young prince.

IN eight years which had now pass'd since the death of Nephté, Daluca had been deliver'd of two sons, who, with their elder brother are confounded in the common annals, by the name of the three Anonymous of the issue of Osoroth ; but the private memoirs I have before me, call the first Beon, and the second Pemphos. As soon as they were of an age fitting to appear before a father, who thought of nothing but his diversion, the mother brought them continually into his presence, to accustom him, if possible, to own them, and them only, for his sons : She even affected to give to the first all the prerogative of primogeniture, tho' neither one nor the other had any right on that account

count. Sethos residing in the palace, began now to be an eye-fore to her : Till then she had born it patiently, that it might not be said the king had no issue ; but purposing for the future to heap all favours upon her own, she sought to supplant an elder brother, whose birth-right, and what could already be call'd merit, excited in her so tormenting a jealousy. Amedes, for the sake of Sethos, taking advantage of this disposition, which he plainly saw in the queen, address'd himself to her, to obtain the king's consent to let him visit some of the chief temples of Egypt. He added at the same time, to remove all suspicion from her mind, that in the course of this journey, which would be for three or four months, the prince should lodge with none but the priests. Daluca, tho' she thought very meanly of the design, gave her full consent to it, and engaged to procure that of the king immediately. She left Amedes with a great deal of satisfaction, believing he had inspired the prince with a fit of devotion, which would take him off from all views of ambition and policy : and in a few moments she sent him the king's sign manual ; letting him know by the bearer, she did not think it necessary, that for so short an absence the prince should take leave of the king, or any one else. This was just what Amedes wanted ; who speaking to Sethos of the inside of the pyramid, which he had been
desirous

desirous of visiting, and of the disposition he was now in to accompany him thither, did not, however, yet discover his whole design to him : but he had taken care to make the high priest of Memphis (the same who had conducted the late queen to the labyrinth) acquainted with it.

SETHOS and Amedes left the palace on foot, telling the chief officer of the prince's apartment, that they might perhaps not return in some time, and that the queen was inform'd of their journey. Being provided with a lamp, and whatever was necessary to light it when it went out, they arriv'd by that time it was night at the pyramid : Amedes order'd it so, that he might go alone with Sethos into that dark building. They ascended together to the sixteenth step on the north-side, where there is a square window always open : But this entrance, which was but three feet every way, led to a passage of the same dimensions, where they were oblig'd to crawl upon their bellies. Sethos went foremost, which was an honour that Amedes did not envy him, nor the trouble of carrying the lamp : and besides, he never gave him any previous knowledge of the length of each passage, nor of what he was to meet at the end of it ; tho' every one had its peculiar difficulties : But not to detain my readers with all the particulars, I shall at once bring Sethos to the place, where, guided by
Amedes,

Amedes, he perceiv'd a large well, crufted on every fide with a black pitchy fcum as fmooth as glafs. The bare mouth of this well by lamp-light was a frightful object : The depth of it feem'd to have no bounds ; and there was no fign either of wheel, pully or rope to defcend it, or to found the bottom. Here it was likewise, that all thofe who were not acquainted with the fecret ; or who if they were, had not the courage to purfue it, put a ftop to their enquiries. Amedes leaning with his elbows on the brink of the well, and holding the lamp, waited in f Silence the effect of Sethos's curiofity ; till being fatisfy'd of his refolution by his impatience, he arofe, and placing the lamp, the bottom of which was made hollow for the purpofe, in the form of a helmet, upon his head, he fet himfelf aftride upon the brink of the well, on the fame fide where he had been the whole time. He immediately put his foot upon a ftep of iron of about fix inches long, which the fhaddow had conceal'd from the fight of Sethos, and the more becaufe it was very narrow. Amedes then getting entirely on the infide of the well, put his other foot on another fuch ftep about a foot lower ; and fo, without faying any thing, continued to defcend, and Sethos foon follow'd him : Being gone down fixty fteps, they met with a ftop, tho' they were not near the bottom of the well ; on the fide they perceiv'd a window, which

which was the entrance into a pretty easy passage, hollow'd out of the natural rock, by which there is a gradual winding descent for 124 feet.

HITHERTO the inside of the pyramid is such as I have just given a small description of ; excepting that the bottom of the well is fill'd with rubbish for a considerable height : But this winding passage led to a grate with two folding doors of brass, which open'd with the least push, and without any noise ; but with the fall in shutting again, by a contrivance in the hinges, made a very great sound, which echo'd till it lost itself a good way off in a vast edifice. They were then at the bottom of the well, which is in all 150 feet deep. Opposite to this gate, which was on the north-side, there was another on the south-side, shut with iron grates, each bar of which was as thick as a man's arm. Thro' these grates Sethos saw a long walk, to which he could perceive no end : On the east-side of it was a long row of arches or vaults, from which proceeded a great light of lamps and torches ; and from the bottom of these vaults he heard the voices of men and women, which made very harmonious musick. Amedes inform'd Sethos, That the walk he saw thro' the grates was a series of the bottom of the other pyramids, which were real tombs ; and that the arches led to a subterranean temple, where

where the priest and priestesses, whose voices he had heard, perform'd every night different sorts of sacrifices and ceremonies ; which he could not yet reveal to him, because he was not initiated. It is easy to imagine, that a young man of a warm disposition, whose curiosity also was excited by so many circumstances, long'd to be initiated ; and he instantly desir'd Amedes to procure it for him. My son, said Amedes, that courage which has led you hither, and which if you pursue, will conduct you farther, is a preparatory step to this prerogative. From this moment I suppose your youth at an end, and that from the desire you have just testify'd for the initiation, you this day begin to be a perfect man. The initiation, to which we are not allowed to invite any one whomsoever in direct terms, is the enterprize of which I spoke ambiguously to you, and for which I requir'd particular proofs of your prudence and valour. Father, said Sethos, I then conceiv'd a faint idea of it, but I never would presume to mention it, fearing you would reject with anger a proposal which seem'd to me to be too rash at my age, and which even now I should not have presum'd to make you, were it not in this place. It is with reason, son, reply'd Amedes, that you now look upon this demand as very bold. The preparations which will be requir'd of you, with regard to the body, are painful and perilous,
but

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but they are very trivial in regard to those of the mind. The priests, who are accountable to nobody, either as for their choice or refusal, are extremely rigorous, especially with regard to those who are destin'd to the throne, and desire to partake of the mysteries of the priesthood. They will examine you on topicks of the most sublime moral, by questions which you can't foresee, and to which you can't answer but by filling your mind with copious and enlightned principles, from whence all your replies must naturally flow. Oh ! my father, reply'd Sethos, how much time I have hitherto lost, and what treasures I have squander'd in the lessons you have already given me ! I consider my attention to your precepts till now only as my duty ; whereas I ought to have look'd on them as the only way by which I could attain to real riches. Son, answer'd Amedes, as yet, nothing is lost : Your youth has been duly employ'd in making you acquainted with the condition of mankind ; and you must not expect the gifts of heaven before their time. You will, on proper occasions, recal to your mind a great number of those principles you now think forgotten : And besides, the priests themselves will instruct you for three months previous to your examination. But it is time for us to repose ourselves, whatever resolution we take, whether it be to return by the way we came, or to go on. They therefore

therefore sat down upon a stone bench, which went all round the bottom of the well.

THEN it was that Sethos, struck with the grandeur of those subterraneous works, unknown to the greater part of the Egyptians themselves, indulg'd his astonishment, and extoll'd the magnificency of the kings his forefathers, who had brought such vast undertakings to perfection. Amedes told him, that these works, consider'd in themselves, were truly worthy of his highest admiration ; but, added he, do you make no reflection on the hardship those have undergone, who have executed them with their own hands ? I perceive, said Sethos, I have been guilty of a fault in judgment, by praising these enterprizes, and have begun the new way of thinking I propos'd to myself by an error. You need not doubt of it, son, said Amedes, you here see the blood and substance of an infinite number of wretches, whose estates and persons have been employ'd in these immense labours : Millions of men have even perish'd by the sudden falling in of the earth. Sesostris, that hero, to whom Egypt is oblig'd, on other accounts, for great part of its glory, has, in vain, caus'd to be engraven on the stately monuments erected by his command at Thebes, that he had employ'd none but foreign slaves in the building of them ; that alone would be no justification : For tho' it

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be the fate of slaves to serve, we ought always to remember they are men, and never to expose them to unreasonable labours, or evident dangers, except upon extraordinary and pressing occasions. And as to captives taken in war, it is yet a barbarous custom, in all nations, to reduce persons free-born, and often of the highest birth, taken in battle, or at a siege, to the state of slavery: So that neither I nor you are secure, in the first battle we may be engaged in against a foreign enemy, from being liable to the meanest of servitude, and the most unworthy treatment. Let me insist upon your giving the world a contrary example in the first victory you may obtain over any nation, capable of society, and worthy of your alliance: We shall find in the sequel that this advice was not unprofitable. But, continu'd Amedes, with regard to the enormous works you now see, I must inform you, that Cheobus, the eighth king of Memphis, and founder of the great pyramid, on which they are all dependant, was, on his own judgment, depriv'd of sepulture in the tomb he had built for himself; and punish'd for the vanity of his tyrannical undertaking, by the shame of having his design frustrated. The other pyramids are neither so large, nor have they such works on the inside as this of Cheobus; and even their subterraneous passages, which you saw through the grates, are the work of Cheobus. His successor, whose conduct was
not

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not so much dislik'd as his was, took advantage of his folly to order their tombs in a place already destin'd for that use. For, in short, tho' we ought most certainly to condemn all those undertakings of princes which are a burden to their subjects, their superfluous wealth may be employ'd in giving evidences of their magnificency. It is actually very praise-worthy in them to encourage the industrious, and to cut out work for those who want it. So tho' the vain extravagance of a king brings his subjects to beggary, expences prudently laid out are preservatives against it. Among the latter, the wisest beyond comparision are those which have a view to the general advantage of the state. The kings of Egypt have render'd their names immortal by their works on account of the Nile ; and one might say, they look'd upon all Egypt as a mansion of pleasure, which it was their duty to improve, adorn and maintain. However, to put an end to this subject, the use you perceiv'd to be made of one part of these subterraneous edifices for the service of the gods, obliges me to ask you, Whether you don't approve of such undertakings, however expensive and perillous they may be, when they have an object so noble and so sacred ? But before you answer me ; suppose the priests themselves are putting you to a trial by this question. Sethos having reflected upon it with

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greater attention than he otherwise would have done, answer'd thus ; I can't think it allowable to be cruel to men, under pretence of serving the gods ; and am perswaded, 'tis the forming a wrong idea of the authors and benefactors of mankind to offer them such victims. Human sacrifices have been abolish'd by a more enlighten'd religion ; and I think our late kings seem'd to have abandon'd these dangerous, and at the same time, too laborious undertakings of subterraneous edifices, which are all very antient : But I think, at the same time, we can't better repair the errors of our fore-fathers, than by employing the monuments of their tyranny in the worship of the gods, as I see it is a practice in these times. Son, answer'd Amedes, such answers as this will extremely facilitate your initiation.

THIS their discourse was overheard, tho' Sethos knew nothing of it ; for the priests having notice given them by the noise of the folding doors, immediately repair'd thither, to spy thro' private openings in the wall who were come to the bottom of the well, that they might prepare every thing for their reception, if they ventur'd farther. Sethos and Amedes having rested, and discours'd thus for the space of an hour ; Amedes first arose, and said to Sethos ; Son, you see on the north-side the gate by which we enter'd, and thro' which

which we may return ; or here, on the east-side, you see another gate, which will lead you to a way parallel to the extremities of the arches, from which you are as yet excluded. This passage was six feet broad, very even, running in a strait line, and vaulted in an arch of a semi-circle upon a moulding which run on both sides at six feet from the earth. Sethos being about to enter, could not avoid turning his eye to an inscription engraven in black letters upon a very white marble, which was plac'd in the nature of a pediment upon the mouldings of the arch thro' which was the entrance into this passage : He there read these words ; *Whoever goes thro' this passage alone, and without looking behind him, shall be purify'd by fire, by water, and by air ; and if he can vanquish the fears of death, he shall return from the bowels of the earth, he shall see light again, and he shall be intitled to the privilege of preparing his mind for the revelation of the mysteries of the great goddess Isis.*

THE bare reading of this inscription frightened away almost all who had the courage to descend to the bottom of the well. Some, tho' but few, went thither of themselves, on no other motive but a most hazardous curiosity. But when any one went to demand the initiation, the priests, who seem'd to grant it without any difficulty, only requir'd him to write down his name and petition, and then

immediately appointed him an initiate to inform him of the trials he was to pass thro', This guide attended him into the pyramid, and led him to the mouth of the well, shew'd him the steps, and went down first himself, as Amedes had done with Sethos. But the priests were pretty sure, that the conditions enjoin'd by the inscription would be accepted by none but men of a more than common intrepidity. And as courage alone was not all the merit they requir'd in their initiates, these terrible trials serv'd only to admit those who aspir'd to it to a very severe examination upon all the other virtues. Some were of opinion, they were to descend alive into hell, and not to return without the most frightful labours ; Others imagin'd, that all the initiates submitted to a real death ; and tho' they saw them afterwards rise again, they fear'd the agonies : They also knew, that some who were esteem'd men of singular valour, never return'd at all. The initiates, who were tied down to an inviolable secrecy, allow'd the liberty of these different interpretations to those who had either heard of this inscription, or who had been satisfy'd with the reading of it. However, as the initiates were in extraordinary repute among the people, for the great virtues they had given proofs of, and especially for the incorruptible justice, which was their characteristick ; as they were respected by the kings themselves, who look'd
upon

upon them not only as men intrepid in battle, but as the most experienc'd ministers they could be serv'd with, and often as their mediators between them and the priests, whose influence they were sometimes afraid of : To conclude, as nothing could be more agreeable to a private person, than to enjoy almost all the privileges of the priesthood, without being tied down to their subjections and disciplines ; there were always some who had resolution enough to expose themselves to any dangers for the sake of the initiation.

SETHOS was too young to be led by any remote views ; his high birth had left little room in his mind for that ambition to rise, so common in other men. Amedes reflected more than he upon the inestimable advantage it would be for a king of Egypt to be initiated. This young prince therefore being in reality push'd on by no other motive than a violent curiosity, and arguing, that he might as well come out again in safety as others had done, snatch'd the lamp out of the hands of Amedes, who yielded it to him with a caution once for all, to add prudence to his courage. However he follow'd him at a distance without his knowledge. This was an establish'd custom ; because, if the courage of the candidate should happen to fail him before he had gone thro' the first trial, his guide, who was always near him, brought him back out

of the well, by the way he came, to the window of the pyramid thro' which he enter'd: There he advis'd him, for his own honour, not to divulge an undertaking in which he had no success, and warn'd him never to attempt obtaining the initiation, either at Memphis, or at any other of the twelve temples of Egypt where it was conferr'd. But the first matter of astonishment to those who persisted in their design, was the length of the way, for they were oblig'd to walk more than a league in this subterraneous passage, without seeing any thing new. At last they observ'd in the wall on the right hand, or on the south-side, a small iron-door shut, and two paces beyond it three men having helmets on, upon which was the head of Anubis. This gave occasion to Orpheus to make of these three men the three heads of the dog Cerberus, which admitted persons into hell, but suffer'd none to come out again. One of these three men said to the candidate; We are not posted here to stop your passage: Go on, if the gods have given you the courage: but if you be so unfortunate as to return, we shall then stop your passage: As yet you may go back, but from this moment you'll never get out of this place, unless you go on, without turning or looking back. If the candidate was not shock'd at these words, he was suffer'd to pass, and the three men follow'd him at a distance; but his first guide abandon'd

don'd him, and enter'd the little door: A moment afterwards, the candidate perceiv'd at the end of this passage the light of a very white but lively flame, just kindled: Sethos mended his pace to come at it. At the end of this passage was a vaulted room of above 100 feet square. At the entrance into it were, on the right, and on the left, two piles of wood, or rather pales of wood planted in the ground upright, and very near to one another, twin'd about in the nature of vines, with branches of Arabian palm, Egyptian thorn and tamarind, three sorts of wood very pliant, fragrant and combustible; the smoke went out thro' long pipes made for that purpose: But this flame, which easily reach'd to the top of the vault, and bore down again in waves, gave the space it possess'd all the resemblance of a burning furnace: But what was yet more terrible, Sethos observ'd upon the ground, between the two piles, a grate of red-hot iron, eight feet broad and thirty feet long. This grate was form'd of bars, which were so close to one another, that there was only room for a man to set one foot between them. He perceiv'd there was no other passage but this, and he went thro' it with as much agility as circumspection. Most fiery trials, of which history makes mention, were no other than these: But historians, who don't know the truth of the matter, and who love to exaggerate their miracles, say, that such a one pass'd thro'

thro' flames of fire, instead of saying he pass'd thro' two lanes of flames, and that he walk'd over red-hot bars, instead of saying that he walk'd between them.

SETHOS having with joy pass'd this trial, saw at some paces distance a canal of more than fifty feet broad, which came in on one side of this subterraneous room thro' grates of iron, and went out again in the same manner on the other side. This canal, which came out of the Nile, before it enter'd thro' the grates, made a great noise, as of a water-fall, which Sethos mistook for the noise of the flames he had just escap'd : By the light of these flames, tho' they were considerably lower'd, he perceiv'd on the other side of the canal an arch, in the inside of which were steps ; the highest whereof were involv'd in darkness. Sethos imagin'd there was the gate thro' which he was to pass into the open air, and the rather, because the passage was mark'd out in the canal by two balustrades of iron, which arose from the bottom of the water on the right and on the left. Being apprehensive that the light of the flames might fail him before he reach'd the other side, he made use of one of the fire-brands to light up his lamp, which the rarefaction of the air had extinguish'd amidst the flames. He undress'd himself, put his cloaths upon his head, and ty'd them with a girdle, which pass'd under his arms, across his breast :

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In this manner he swam cross the canal, holding his lamp burning in one hand. He quickly got his cloaths on again; and ascending the steps of the arch which was before him, he came to a landing-place of six feet long and three broad. The bottom was a draw-bridge, which hung by very strong irons to rings fastned in the uppermost step of the arch; so that this draw-bridge seem'd to be let down to receive him. The walls on each side of him were of brass, and serv'd as supporters for the naves of two great wheels of the same metal, one on the right, and the other on the left: The lower half of them went down behind the walls; and on the upper parts, which were in sight, lay a great iron chain: The top or roof of the landing-place discover'd, at the height of fifteen feet, three dark concavities, which resembled the inside of three large hollow statues, look'd into from below: Before him was a door cover'd all over with the whitest ivory, adorn'd in the middle with two mouldings of gold; which shew'd that this door, that had no scutcheons on the outside, open'd inwards with two leaves. Sethos having set his lamp on the floor, try'd twice or thrice in vain to push open this door, which had resisted the force of much stronger men than he: But to the lintel of the door, which was rais'd about seven feet above the threshold, and to which the ends of the draw-bridge seem'd to be suspended

suspended by two strong chains, were fasten'd two great rings of polish'd steel, which by the light of the lamp shone like the finest diamond. The candidate could not avoid laying hold of them to try if by this means he might open the door: and here he began his last trial, the most difficult for an astonish'd imagination; for the very first motion which he gave to these rings, rais'd the triggers of the two wheels, which being turn'd by a prodigious weight hanging to their chains, produc'd several very frightful effects. The draw-bridge began to raise itself at that end which was nearest the door; so that the candidate was oblig'd either to recover the steps, and so turn back again, contrary to the law prescrib'd him, or to hold fast by the rings: but the very lintel of the door was likewise rais'd up with the candidate hanging at it. The lamp which slid upon the draw-bridge was soon overset, and left him in the dark, in the midst of a horrid noise made by the two wheels, such, that the most courageous would hardly forbear thinking that a hundred machines of iron and brass were breaking in pieces about his ears. This motion, which lasted almost a minute, rais'd the candidate to the height of a quarter of a circle: but lest the lintel, which was then loosen'd from the great wheels, might fall again with too great violence, being born downwards by its own weight, and that of the candidate, it was fastned with ropes,
which

which went thro' several pullies, to another wheel made up of flies or fanes of iron plates, which broke the fall, and prevented the candidate from being hurt. But at the same time this wheel, which was plac'd opposite to him in a large open place above the ivory doors, by its motion made him feel a violent agitation of the air. The candidate being in this manner let down again to the place from whence the machine had lifted him up, the two leaves of the ivory door open'd by the motion of the lowermost trigger, and presented to his view a place where it was broad day, or if in the night-time, was illuminated with lamps, which caus'd a light equal to it.

SETHOS, who came thither about sun-rising, perceiving the Ox Apis thro' the bars of his stable, which was opposite to the sanctuary of the temple of the three deities at Memphis, found, to his great surprize, that he was come out from under the great hollow pedestal of the triple statue of Osiris, Isis and Horus, before which so many supplications had been offer'd for the late queen's recovery. He was receiv'd by the priests, who made a lane for him behind the sanctuary. The high-priest embracing him immediately, extoll'd his valour, and congratulated him upon the happy success of his trials. He then presented him a cup
fill'd

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fill'd with the water of the canal he had just pass'd. Whilst he was drinking, the high-priest said, Let this water be a draught of lethe or forgetfulness with regard to all the false maxims which you have heard from the mouths of prophane men *. After this, making him turn toward the triple statue, he order'd him to prostrate himself before it, and then said these words over him : Isis, great goddess of the Egyptians, pour down thy spirit upon thy new votary, who has gone thro' so many perils and laborious trials to come before thee : Make him victorious also over his passions, by rendring him tractable to thy laws, that he may be worthy to be admitted to thy mysteries. All the priests having repeated the first words of this Invocation : Isis, *great goddess of the Egyptians* ; they rais'd Sethos up, and the high-priest presented him a compound liquor, by the Greeks call'd Cyceon ; saying, May this be a draught of Mnemosyne or memory for the lessons, † which will now be given you by wisdom. These were all the ceremonies of the first day. The high-priest restor'd Sethos to Amedes, who standing behind him, led him to the apartment prepar'd for him in the college of the priests, which was

* See the manners of the savages ; by father Laffiteau, t. 1. p. 313, 314. where he mentions these customs of the antients.

† Arnob. l. 5.

provided

provided with all necessaries, he being not to stir from those holy places till the ceremonies of his initiation were perform'd.

As much as Sethos was overjoy'd for having form'd a right judgment of what he had to do in trials which required as much presence of mind as resolution ; yet greater was the joy of Amedes, who having so precious a trust committed to his care, had prevail'd upon himself to hazard the life of this young prince to obtain the initiation for him. As he was apprehensive that Sethos would soon be oblig'd to quit Memphis on account of the queen's jealousy, and that consequently he should never have the like time or opportunity to procure him this advantage for the future ; he put him to these trials as soon as he thought his tender age capable of going thro' them. Had it not been for these pressing reasons, Amedes would never have expos'd a youth at sixteen years to such dangers and uncertainties as had perplex'd men of the greatest valour and prudence, not to mention those rash persons whose hearts or heads had fail'd them in the enterprize. For as soon as any candidate had pass'd the little door that was shut, and got a sight of the flames, if he offer'd to return, the three men, who were officers of the second rank, seiz'd him, and made him enter thro' this door into the subterraneous temples, where he was for ever confin'd,

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confin'd, that he might not divulge the nature of the trials. Just so it was with respect to the canal ; if any came thither after passing thro' the flames, and was deterr'd from crossing the water, either by swimming or holding by one of the two ballustrades, which appear'd above the surface : for these officers were ready to help all that ran the risque of burning or drowning ; but it was in order to confine them. Their imprisonment was however not very rigid. They were made, if they desir'd it, officers of the second order in these subterraneous temples, and were allow'd to marry the daughters of such officers : But they were oblig'd, in the first place, to give an account of their condition to their families by a note written and sign'd with their own hands, in the following terms : “ For attempting a rash undertaking, the just and merciful gods confine me to a perpetual but favourable prison ; fear the gods, and love them.” This form made them look'd upon as dead, and discharg'd their families from all ties with regard to them. They were in reality secur'd from ever speaking to any of those they call'd prophane. The other officers of the second order, who were the children of these, had the freedom, not of changing their condition, which otherwise was not allow'd to any Egyptian, but to officiate in their turns in the superior temples, and even, like the priests themselves, to converse with every

every body, because they were bound to keep the secret by an oath ; which they did not vouchsafe to those who had fail'd in the trials, and had therefore, said they, forfeited their engagements to themselves.

As for the latter of these trials, the noise of the wheels, and darkness of the place, made it really look like the chambers of death : But this noise serv'd likewise to give warning to the priests, who waited the candidate's arrival in the sanctuary, to let down curtains immediately before all the crannies thro' which the people might look in : So that the populace, if there were any in the temple, knowing nothing of the secret, imagin'd it to be thunder, which warn'd the priests of the approaching presence of a deity, who came to unfold some mystery to them. It was at this trial that Orpheus, who was then in Egypt, had fail'd : however, the priests had granted him the initiation some months before, as a peculiar favour they thought due to his merit, on another account.

THIS famous Greek, who had obtain'd of the gods the gift of poetry, and playing on the harp, in so eminent a degree, that in those fabulous days he pass'd for the son of Apollo and Calliope, was born in Thrace. But that being somewhat a savage country, and its fierce inhabitants more addicted to war than

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the sciences, he came to settle in Thessalia, among a more civiliz'd people, and in a country render'd delightful by the course of the river Peneus, and the delicious vale of Tempe. There it was he espous'd the fair Eurydice ; yet more famous for the love she bore to her husband, than for her beauty. The concourse of people from all parts of Greece, which the charms of the place, and the curiosity of hearing Orpheus, had drawn into Thessalia, soon made him acquainted with the fame of the Egyptians. As superior talents generally suppose a loftiness of mind and sentiments, Orpheus resolv'd to go into Egypt to obtain the initiation, persuaded that his poetry would become more sublime, when he had gain'd a thorow knowledge of theology, morality, and nature, of which he had been inform'd the Egyptians were the true and only masters. He began from that time to learn the Egyptian tongue : but there was one great obstacle to his design, which was the absenting himself for a time from Eurydice. All he could say to her of the charms of her country in which he left her, and of the esteem she was in at the Thessalian court, could not ease that grief she entertain'd upon his first mention of it ; it had a quite contrary effect upon her. It was some time before that Aristeus came to reside at this court. He pretended to be the son of Apollo, and the nymph Cyrene, the daughter of king Peneus, grandfather

father to the king then upon the throne. It is said, that Apollo, falling in love with this princess, carry'd her into Africa, where she gave name to the province of Cyrenia ; so that Aristeus esteem'd Thessalia as the country of his ancestors. He no sooner came to this court, than he fix'd his eyes upon Eurydice, and made fruitless addresses to her, which she was so discreet as to conceal from her husband. But now she imagin'd her residence at this court, which Orpheus had offer'd as an argument of consolation, might prove most fatal in his absence ; and not being able to dissuade him from his design, she declar'd she would follow him where-ever he went.

THEY therefore embark'd together ; and, after all the labours and dangers of a tedious voyage, arriv'd at the port of Canope in the Delta, and thro' the Heracleotick canal at one of the harbours of Memphis. As it was late, they resolv'd to lie the first night without the city. In the short way from the shore to the inn they were directed to, Eurydice felt a little smart in her heel, which she did not think of consequence enough to mention to her husband ; but she was no sooner enter'd into her chamber, than she was seiz'd with a great heaviness to sleep, which made her refuse all refreshment : However, as she had eaten more than once with the company on board, her husband did not apprehend any

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thing from a drowiness which seem'd to him to proceed from a cause very common and natural. She even remov'd all his uneasinesses, by telling him, she wanted nothing but rest. About half an hour afterwards, hearing her fetch her breath with great difficulty and irregularity, he ran to her, and being surpriz'd to find her face swell'd, and livid, and above all, that he could not awake her, he call'd out to his host ; who no sooner saw her, but he told him, it was caus'd by the sting of some venomous insect that lay in her way, and that he would certainly find the mark of it in her foot : Having soon discover'd it to be as he said ; Stranger, continu'd the host, if you desire it, I will fetch a physician, but he will find your wife dead. It is a great misfortune that you have never heard, or, if you have heard it, have never given attention to it, that there is no such thing as walking in Egypt, without having a preservative balsam about one, to apply immediately to the place stung : 'tis an infallible remedy ; but a few moments delay render the evil incurable. Oh ! cry'd Orpheus, I have the remedy, but my wife, my cruel wife, conceal'd this accident from me. Alas ! my lord, answer'd the host, as he was retreating, I find, to her misfortune, the sting was hardly perceivable, as it often happens to the Egyptians themselves, if they are not very careful.

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THUS Orpheus, after having in vain implor'd all the deities of Greece and Egypt, lost the most tender and the most faithful of wives. She was interr'd in the sepulchre of foreigners, without any ceremony, because Orpheus was so overwhelm'd with grief that he had not discover'd himself to any one. This burial-place was without the walls of Memphis, on the same side as the pyramids, and the same place where the tombs of the natives were. They were the catacombs of the mummies, which subsist to this day ; but strangers were let down by a separate opening. At the entrance into these catacombs was the lake Acherusia ; on the brink of which the Egyptians, when dead, were brought before their judges, as the kings were to the labyrinth : But to strangers this ceremony was not observ'd, and they were interr'd without embalming. Orpheus, in the mean time, as yet unknown, walking every day in the neighbourhood of the catacombs, where Eurydice was interr'd, met one evening with some Egyptians, who were discoursing among themselves, that there was a subterraneous communication between the catacombs and the pyramids, and that the souls of the dead had all that space to walk in. They added, that some who had had the resolution to enter into these pyramids by the opening which was visible on one side of the

greatest, had there heard the voices and songs of the blessed spirits. Orpheus remembered these words; and as true lovers, especially those who never were in love before, look upon their passion as eternal, and carry their ideas of constancy even beyond the grave: so Orpheus giving himself up to this illusion, and depending upon the same sentiment in the ghost of his Eurydice, hop'd to meet her in these tombs, or to intice her to him by the sound of his voice and harp. Being return'd to Memphis, and having attentively consider'd the answers of all those whom he interrogated concerning what he had heard, he was confirm'd in his design; and taking a lamp fit for his purpose, and his lyre, which had lain unstrung for a long time, he went the next day in the evening to the first pyramid. As soon as it was night, he enter'd alone, and made its long echoing vaults ring with the name of his Eurydice. Having pass'd frightful windings and turnings, he came to the mouth of the well; and the fervent desire he had to meet either with Eurydice, or his death, made him resolved to descend. It was some consolation to him to hear thro' the grates of the iron gate a compleat musick, in which he distinguish'd the voices of women, and even fancy'd he heard that of his Eurydice: But his satisfaction was yet greater, at reading the inscription. He saw he was at the very gate of the initiation, which had been the

the occasion of his voyage, though the loss of his wife had made him forget it: But then joining both ideas, and giving up his imagination to his desires, he believ'd that the initiation itself would lead him to the mansion of the souls of the blessed, and that, perhaps, he might bring back Eurydice from thence. He enter'd the narrow way, and with great resolution went thro' the trials of fire and water. But at the noise of the wheels, and the motion of the landing-place or draw-bridge, he had not the presence of mind to hold fast by the rings; so was forc'd to retreat, and was thrown against his will upon the steps of the arch. He perceiv'd his mistake even before the noise ceas'd; and as soon as he saw from the top of the steps, where he had kept his ground, that the door of the pedestal was open'd, he took his lyre, and, being resolv'd to die, comforted himself with the hopes of meeting his Eurydice. In the mean time he advanc'd slowly towards the sanctuary, singing verses fill'd with the names of the gods, and of Eurydice, and sung, in concert with his lyre, such just, such melodious, and such tender strains, that all the priests who surrounded him, were charm'd with it. After a short space he gave over singing, and fell on his knees, as if in expectation of his sentence. The high-priest, after having conferr'd a few moments with his companions, made him rise, and thus ac-

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costed him ; Virtuous stranger, who can be no other than the renown'd Orpheus, we know by the piety of your verses, and the excellency of your talents, that you reverence the gods, and are dear to them. Our goddess is equitable; she considers what is due to your resolution in entering this abyss, and to the progress you have made in it without advice and without assistance: your judgment, indeed, fail'd you in the last of your trials; but she pardons this mistake, in consideration of the grief you labour under for your late loss. Your only consolation will be in that virtue, of which our goddess, by our means, will explain to you the true principles. But as an atonement for your fault, she expects, that after your initiation, you introduce her worship into Greece, your country, the fame of which has been long since known to us. Orpheus made no other answer to this discourse but by tears of gratitude and joy; the high-priest went through the ceremonies of that day with him, and admitted him to the exercises of those that follow'd,

IT is not difficult to trace all the customs of the Egyptians in the greek mythology, of which Orpheus was the principal author. We have elsewhere shewn what the obsequies for the dead had furnish'd him with. What he has taken from the initiation is something more disguis'd; but in the three trials of fire,
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water, and air, are plainly discover'd the three purifications the souls of men were to go thro' before they return'd to life ; which the greatest of the latin poets borrow'd from him, in the sixth book of his *Æneid* ; *Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni* : not to omit the circumstance of suspension in the agitated air, or in the winds : *Suspensæ ad ventos*. The waters of forgetfulness, and the gate of ivory have their places there. Hercules returning with Alceste out of hell, and Theseus condemn'd to sit there for ever, are the two different symbols of those, who either pass'd thro', or fail'd in their trials. But farther, Orpheus gave a symbolical or disguis'd history of his initiation ; when connecting what had pass'd in his mind, with what actually happen'd to him at his last trial, he suppos'd, that he had infallibly brought Eurydice back again from hell ; if he had not, contrary to the law prescrib'd him, look'd back before he recover'd the light of the day.

EVEN these allegories are nothing in comparison with the mysteries of Ceres, which he actually instituted at Eleusina, after the model of those of Isis ; and which he divided into greater and lesser mysteries, in the same view as the greater and lesser initiations were distinguish'd in Egypt. The first was only bestow'd upon natives of the country ; and
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the second only to foreigners. Both one and the other, as well at Eleufina as at Egypt, were oblig'd to a fecrecy which had never been violated but at the expence of the life of him who reveal'd any of thefe myfteries, either by a formal fentence, or by other means, in whatever part of the world he might happen to be; and then they never fail'd of altering, at leaft in part, fuch of their practice as had been reveal'd. This is the reafon why we know fo little of the antient ceremonies. What I am acquainted with myfelf came to my knowledge only by means of fome uncommon documents very difficult to be decypher'd; which, in the confufion of the wars, had been taken out of the archives where they were treafur'd up, and which the poffeffors of them very carefully conceal'd. And tho' to this day initiations are in practice, both in Egypt and in Greece, they are not fo rigid, nor are the myfteries to which they are introductory fo fecret. Perfons of diftinction are admitted without any probation. Even children are frequently confecrated to Ifis, or to Ceres, which in the main are but one and the fame goddeffs, without any condition, and merely by the devotion of their parents.

BUT to return to Sethos; the whole firft day and night following were, as customary, allow'd him for reft. His table was ferv'd
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in the same manner as at the palace ; and instead of his ordinary domesticks, he was attended by a good number of officers of the second order ; but he was not allow'd to stir out of his apartment all that day ; and his confinement there would have been longer, if there had been any other candidate in the priests house before him ; for then he must have waited till they had gone thro' their exercises.

THE next morning, some hours after sunrise, the priests came to inform Sethos, that he must begin a fast of fourscore and one days in different degrees of austerity : During the whole time he was to drink nothing but water : In the first two months he was to eat as much bread as he pleas'd ; and for his meals fruits, either raw or only dry'd in the sun. But this course of diet was more tolerable in Egypt than in any other country. The following twenty-one days were divided into two parts ; the first twelve days he was to have as much bread as he wou'd, but only eight ounces of fruit every day ; and the last nine days the fast was to be very severe, for he was to have only eighteen ounces of bread with water. During the seventy-two first days, he was to eat his meals alone, and at such hours as he liked best. He was to lie in a bed without curtains, on girths of Papyrus stretch'd tight, with only a bolster, and
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two sheets of linnen ; of which the uppermost might be doubled into as many folds as he pleas'd. He was allow'd to lie but six hours, and at noon he might take an hour's nap sitting. This was all that related to the purification of the body, or the first of the three parts of initiation. The two others were the purification of the mind, and the manifestation.

THE purification of the mind consisted of two parts, * invocation and instruction. The invocation was only assisting an hour every morning and evening at the sacrifices which were offer'd in sight of all the people, but the candidate was so plac'd that he could neither see them nor be seen. The instruction consisted of more particulars : The candidate was first of all acquainted, that it chiefly concern'd the duties incumbent on him in the condition of life he was in, and that his examination would be only on that head. Mean time the priests held every day two conferences on this account, at which he was oblig'd to be present. In the morning-confe-

* Besides the treatise of Meursius, call'd Eleusina, the reader may consult what father Laffiteau, in his customs of the savages, t. 1. p. 221. and fol. says of the initiations of the antients. He begins by these words : The initiations to the mysteries were a practical school of religion and virtue, instituted by the antients to instruct men how to live up to the principles of reason and prudence. And this is in effect the idea Cicero gives us of them ; De leg. 2. &c.

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rence one of them spent an hour in explaining the general principles of the Egyptian religion. He * inculcated the notion of one only God, who by his knowledge conceiv'd the world, before he form'd it by his will. But to comply with the frailty of mankind, they were allow'd to adore the different attributes of his essence, and the different effects of his goodness, under the symbols of the stars, as the sun and the planets; of renown'd personages, as Osiris, Jupiter, Mercury; and even of terrestrial bodies, as animals and plants †. He added, that the subaltern deities were likewise spirits, whose ministry the supreme God thought expedient to employ in the government of the universe. He did not forget that spirit, who was the tempter of men, and the disturber of nature, represented by Typhon, by the evil genius's, and by pernicious animals and poisonous plants. From thence he proceeded to explain the ceremonies they put in practice to win the favour of the beneficent deities, or to avert the anger of the mischievous. The Egyptians by this confus'd idea of unity in the divine being, and of multiplicity in his symbols, are the first authors of what has

* Lactant. l. 1.

† The Ab. Banier observes very justly, that the first fathers of the church demonstrated to the Pagans, that this interpretation did not clear them from idolatry. *Origin of fables*. p. 2. p. 266.

been the most sublime in philosophical opinions, and the most gross in popular superstitions. Besides this, the physical and historical origins of the denominations of these secondary deities, and of the varieties of the worship paid to them, were expounded in a manner so learned and so curious, that Sethos sometimes envy'd these men, who being freed from all the incumbrances of life, could devote themselves wholly to such satisfactory enquiries.

THE evening conference lasted an hour and half. The only subject was morality. One of the priests began, by laying down general maxims of it, which he afterwards apply'd to such cases or instances as best suited the circumstances of the candidate. Then other priests made objections ; which were answer'd by the first. In these conferences the candidate was not allow'd to speak ; but in the familiar conversations, which the priests held twice a day among themselves, he was free to speak his mind, not on religion but on morals ; in which they endeavour'd to satisfy all his questions or objections. Besides which, all the priests, whose business it was to teach their divinity, were oblig'd to receive him into their closets whenever he came during the intervals of his exercises. This freedom, which he enjoy'd forty-two days, gave the candidate an opportunity of unfolding the most inward recesses of his

his mind, and even of relating such actions of his life, as he could suppose might tend to his honour : and the priests, on their parts, gave great attention to him, in order to discover his character and inclinations. For whereas in other schools, one single master was the instructor of many disciples, here the whole college of priests was employ'd to instruct one candidate. Their wives, who in compliment were stil'd priestesses, tho' in Egypt they had no sacerdotal functions, at least in the superior temples, dwelt with them under the same roof : But the four stories of this house being double, the priest's apartments look'd towards the gardens, and those of the priestesses forwards. Of these two sides, which were separated by a gallery, that destin'd for the women was call'd, likewise by favour, the sacerdotal palace ; whereas the other side was only stil'd the priest's house. The priestesses had the liberty of their husbands apartments, but not of their closets. They never went into the halls, or common offices of the house ; but they had the freedom of the galleries, and of those passages alone which led to the galleries of the temple, and into the gardens. The candidate was forbid to speak to them, or so much as to salute them, where-ever he met them, though he generally knew them, and had seen them, perhaps, in the apartments of the king and queen, whither they went
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at certain hours, as other ladies did. By this the candidate was taught, that he must know how to deny himself sometimes those things which were lawful in themselves, tho' within his reach. But that which will appear, without doubt, mortifying to well-bred gentlemen, these ladies, who were most of them of singular beauty, never pass'd by him without paying him their respect; and he was not suffer'd to make the least shew of a return. By this he was put to a trial of that fortitude with which every virtuous man ought to resist the charms of the sex when they appear in competition with his duty.

ON the evening of the forty-second day, the candidate was inform'd, that the next day he must commence a silence of eighteen days complete; during which he must not utter one single word, nor even make any sign to express his thoughts, on any account whatsoever; only in case of illness, he might demonstrate it by laying his hand to his heart: but if he did not give this sign, such of the priests as were physicians, could easily perceive it; and in this case, all his exercises were suspended, and he was look'd after with a great deal of care: But after his recovery, whatever day of the three months the purification of his mind was interrupted, he was oblig'd to begin again. The candidate was offer'd at the same time a certain number
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of proper books, tables to write on, and a stylus or iron pen to write with, if he had not thought to ask for them before. But Sethos had this foresight the very second day of his retirement. He conceiv'd, that the frequent visits he was allow'd to make to the priests, and the questions he might be continually asking them, would not conduce so much to his instruction, as recollection and reading. He had already copy'd all that he was able to remember of their moral conferences, and had endeavour'd, by meditation, to go back to the grounds of every particular question. By this means his mind was stor'd beforehand with all the answers which he heard given by the priest, who held the conference, to all the questions and objections started to him by the others: And in, their private conversations, they all admir'd the accuracy and modesty of his decisions. But these conversations were now to be suspended: His other exercises remain'd the same, and the two conferences were continu'd during the whole eighteen days. However, he was not call'd to these exercises as before, but was oblig'd to repair punctually thither at the common signal. In a word, he had no other notice given him, but by being awak'd mornings and afternoons. He had the liberty of the gardens, but he was not to take notice of any person, either man or woman; so that he was all alone as it were, in the midst of a

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house full of people. On the other hand, nobody, either man or woman, seem'd to take any notice of him; nor was any manner of attendance given him, excepting that his food was brought once a day into his apartments when he was absent. The priest, who inform'd him of this new regulation, acquainted him, that he was enjoin'd to the most rigid observance of it: that they excused some small inadvertencies which he had been guilty of during the forty-two preceding days; but that the least violation of the rules now prescrib'd him would forfeit his liberty for the remainder of his life. Upon this the priest, without staying for any answer from Sethos, led away Amedes, who not having quitted this young prince hitherto, left him, as it may be imagin'd, overwhelm'd with grief. It was not that they ever design'd to put their threats in execution, but they did it to put the candidates to a trial under this situation of mind, in order to give them an opportunity of exerting their courage; for they wink'd at any small failures in those whom they judg'd worthy of the initiation in other respects.

NOTHING could more sensibly affect Sethos than to be separated from his governor, whom he esteem'd as a father. The solitude he was now left in, which was but as a trial or exercise, made him reflect upon
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the real situation of his fortune, to which he had, properly speaking, as yet not open'd his eyes. He recall'd to his mind the loss of a mother, and the succession to the throne, with the loss of which he was threatned; and nature prevailing, either over the unsettledness of his youth, which he had hardly quitted, or over the heroick fortitude which was visibly growing up in him, he shed a torrent of tears. But considering at last the vanity and weakness of such a consolation, he arm'd himself with resolution and constancy, and had the courage to promise within himself, that, what ever state of life he might fall into, he would never seek comfort in tears, but would look upon virtue as a man's only good and support.

THE next morning, soon after he rose, he saw three priests with very austere countenances, enter his chamber. It was very shocking for the candidate to see these men, who before had shewn him all marks of friendship and complacency, approach him with the appearance of severe judges. They came to reproach him, not for the small faults he might have been guilty of since the commencement of his preparation, which were only failings for that time and place, but for the defective or vicious dispositions they had observ'd, either in his conversation or manners. But they did not stop there;

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for, as the resolution which is necessary in a person to expose himself to the trials of the initiation is hardly to be met with but in persons of note, the priests knew pretty well, either from their own intelligence, or publick fame, all their perfections or defects. Besides, as it was common for people to come for advice or prediction to the priests, whom they suppos'd to have a profound knowledge in futurity and hidden causes; they spared no diligence to get information under hand of all the secrets as well of princes as of private persons; to which, the industry of their wives, and the officers of the second order, who went abroad, did not a little contribute. And after a candidate was shut up amongst them, they employ'd their utmost care to gather all possible circumstances of his life. Thus they put him to a strange surprize, by recalling to his mind such of his past actions as might merit censure, and by reprimanding him in proportion to the heinousness of the case, without so much as allowing him to open his mouth: They even forbid him losing any time to justify himself in writing; but then they took all imaginable precaution not to lay any thing to his charge but what was strictly true. This vexatious exercise was shorter or longer every time, and was continued more or fewer days, according to the nature of the subject; and they insinuated to many, that they knew more than they would say.

say. But, with respect to Sethos, whom the priests had nothing to reproach with, they only reprov'd him for the tears he had shed the foregoing evening, and which he suppos'd had been seen by none : They repeated to him the very same reflections he had made himself ; after which they retir'd, and came no more.

TOWARD the evening of the last day of silence, the three priests came into the candidate's apartment with a serene countenance. They told him, that one of the wholesomest instructions a wise man could receive, was that which he drew from his own faults. That he must not fail to correct and amend them ; but that he ought not to conceive such a shame for them as might be discouraging and unprofitable. They added, that they had admitted guilty persons to the initiation, but that their history did not furnish a single example of the meanest of the Egyptian initiates, who after admission had abandon'd the paths of the noblest virtue. That he was going to be incorporated with a body of men, which merit alone had form'd, and which, tho' it had no pre-eminence of itself, possess'd, however, the first place in the esteem of all men. They went so far as to tell him, that though initiation was but a participation of the priesthood, it was their birth made them priests ; whereas initiates were chosen

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men, who only attain'd to that dignity by a merit that had been severely try'd. They then inform'd him, that beginning at the following day, in which he would be allow'd to resume the use of his speech, they would give him twelve days to recollect in writing, or in his memory, what he had learn'd in the conferences he had heard, or from his lectures ; in order to prepare him to answer to three questions in morality, which they should propose to him at the expiration of this term. It was for this end that the conferences now ceas'd, that he might not be perplex'd with new subjects for application. That they would only hold one discourse a day, to spend their leisure time, and that it should be upon a subject a little differing from the former ; to which he might only give such attention as he should judge proper. That his attendance at prayers and sacrifices should be no longer than his piety and inclination should direct. To conclude, that he should have the same liberty as before to converse with all the priests either in publick or private ; and that he even might salute the priestesses, but he was desir'd however not to speak to them.

SETHOS, who had before made great advances, as well in virtue as knowledge, had gain'd extraordinary advantage during his retreat and silence with regard to both
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these views : so that at the beginning of this third month, he seem'd, in some measure, to be equal to the priests ; and from thenceforth they behav'd to him as great men are wont to do to one another. He had so much resolution and presence of mind the first day not to ask again for Amedes, who was out of sight ; and the priests, who did not suspect him of indifferency, perceiv'd he was ready himself to meet every trial they were willing to subject his mind to. However, he was restor'd to him the same evening : But the politeness, which was natural to him, having prompted him to take advantage of the freedom which was allow'd him with respect to the priestesses, he was not a little surpriz'd, that the first time he saluted two or three of them, whom he met together in a walk of the garden, they did not return him the compliment. He was, in some measure, asham'd that he had not presuppos'd some such reserve in a place like that : and turning this trifle to advantage, he imagin'd they would thereby inure him to comply with the customs of every place, tho' never so singular or trivial.

THE discourses or conferences of the two preceding months had been held by priests of the greatest ability and experience in the subjects they had treated. But if in the whole class of sacred literature there was one man

superior in genius and eloquence : it was he who was employ'd to hold the twelve last discourses 'at the beginning of this last month. For his general subject he chose the GENIUS OF A TRUE INITIATE. An initiate, said he, is a new man, in whom the love of virtue and his duty has taken place of all those passions which were before the motives of all his actions. In every juncture, what he will do is infallibly visible in what he ought to do. Life is of no account to him. It is neither example, nor opportunity, nor a transitory passion which engages him to expose it. These circumstances are necessary to the man of passion : but the man of principle, such as an initiate, holds, as it were, his life in his hand ; and if he has not put it to stake, it is because his duty has not yet requir'd it. Glory is generally inseparable from those eminent virtues which we see practis'd by initiates ; but 'tis neither their motive nor their aim. It is requisite to preserve the idea and name of glory among men, especially with respect to those who, being high born, are seldom animated by any other sensible interest. But in the main, glory is a spur only to the weak, and to novices. The motive of an initiate is the voice of his duty, and his aim the discharge of it. From hence it comes, said he, that many of our initiates had rather do private services to their prince or country in obscurity, than be

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distinguish'd by the most shining dignities, Ambition has prompted most candidates to submit to the trials of the body ; but the trials of the mind have eradicated that ambition. In whatever rank an initiate finds himself plac'd, either by his birth or fortune, he believes himself to be establish'd in it for no other end, but for the benefit of his country, and even, if possible, for the whole race of mankind. So consequently, this man, not being to be bias'd by any desire, or any fear of his own, is taken up with all the desires, and all the fears of those whom he is to make happy, as their master, or to serve, as their fellow-citizen. On this occasion he alledg'd the several great things, which the first heroes of Egypt, who instituted the worship of the gods, and the initiation, had done for the world ; the security, happiness and glory which they had at first procur'd for Egypt itself : But, added he, their magnanimous valour not being to be confin'd within bounds so streight, they carry'd their profitable arts to nations as uncultivated as their lands ; they purg'd the country of robbers, and the seas of pyrates ; or they transform'd them into a civiliz'd people by the laws they subjected them to, the sciences they taught them, and above all, by the heroick virtues of which they set them examples : It is to them, in short, the world owes that form we now see it in. He afterwards mention'd

mention'd the names of the most famous initiates of the following ages, and related those passages of their lives, which were as affecting by the singularity of the incidents, as the generosity of their actions. He finish'd his relation of these wonders by saying, that the soul of an initiate, that soul so courageous and so sublime, was humble, gentle, and indulgent. This man, who centers all the virtues in himself, esteems, and praises the least footsteps of them which appear in others. He places them above him, who despair ever to come up to him. He can witness for the sincerity of his intention, but he mistrusts his own thoughts and his views. He perceives he is incapable of committing an injustice or a crime ; but he acknowledges himself liable to all the frailties of nature. Tho' always upon his guard against faults, he is ever ready to acknowledge the commission of them. He is, in short, a man without blemish, who is always studying to amend ; and a perfect man, who is ever striving to make himself more perfect.

THIS picture of an initiate, of which I have here given but a faint sketch, transported Sethos's admiration. He said to Amedes, Father, how came it to pass that the priests spoke so indifferently of these last discourses, which I just now heard ; that was, no doubt, one of their nicest trials, to see whether I
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had a taste for virtue ; whether the splendor of it would attract my notice ; and whether I should be sensible of its charms? Oh ! it is now I begin to live ; 'tis only the true initiate, the virtuous man, knows the sublimity of his being ; he alone enjoys his mind ; those who set their hearts upon other objects, are not worthy to be call'd men. These last discourses are so far from being of little moment, as the priests seem'd to insinuate, that they will enable me to answer all the questions they may put to me. I shall talk from the fountain-head ; and all I have to do for the future, will be to conform the rest of my life to my answers. But, father, continu'd he, I must have been strangely blind hitherto, not to perceive in you those sublime virtues, of which I have now so glorious an idea. It was, without doubt, that humility and indulgence wherein partly consists the character of a true initiate, that have conceal'd you from my sight. The king, my grandfather, and the queen, my mother, saw you thro' this veil, when they singled you out for their counsellor and their minister. Son, answer'd Amedes, it is sufficient for me if it be true that I have not dishonour'd the title I bear of an initiate ; but it is for another man to give true lustre to it : The greatness of your birth imposes laws on you of a larger extent ; but then it furnishes you with greater powers for the practice of eminent virtues, and actions
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of generosity. I was sensible of my incapacity to educate a prince like you, and therefore I immediately borrow'd the assistance of all the schools of Memphis, to teach you the sciences under masters more able than myself; and I have endeavour'd to add to the vigilance with which a governour ought to attend a private education, that emulation which is rarely seen in a pupil, unless in a publick one. But the sciences are nothing in comparison to virtue. Who could better instruct you in that than those men, who have attain'd a consummate knowledge of all laws divine and human? Common fame gives some small advantage in other particulars to certain priests of Egypt above those of Memphis; but, at the same time, allows the preference to these in the knowledge of morality. What more proper time could they take to discourse to you of virtue in the most sublime manner, than while you are preparing for the initiation? This privilege, which has been coveted by the greatest men, and which, in their esteem, crowns a long series of wonderful actions, is become a part of your education, and of consequence, my son, is an engagement to you to begin where they left off.

THE day after these twelve days, the high-priest, follow'd by several others, came into Sethos's apartment the moment after he was
risen,

risen, and said to him, Son, I come to propose the three questions to you, which you must give answer to in nine days. All our instructions said he, and even your reading will be laid aside for that time: We suspend even our common conversations, and you are not allow'd to speak to any of us in particular till the expiration of that term. It is from the gods alone you must henceforth intreat that knowledge you may stand in need of. For these nine days you shall lie in the sanctuary behind the statues of the three deities, that the goddess Isis may, if she please, instruct you even in your dreams. We shall every morning, when you awake, and before the gates of the temple are open'd to the people, offer a sacrifice to her, and invoke her to pour her wisdom into your soul. You may spend as much time in the temple as you shall think convenient; and in our gardens you may meditate upon your answers. In the mean time, to alleviate your solitude in some measure, you will be sent for twice every day to our table; but you must observe a profound silence, and keep up strictly to the austerity which was at first prescrib'd you for these nine days; during which, you must fast with bread and water. Give now attention to the three questions I have to propose to you: What is the principal virtue of a hero? Does heroism consist in exceeding the bounds

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bounds of duty? Is it heroick to sacrifice even one's honour to the interest of our country, or the general good of mankind? The high-priest, having twice more distinctly repeated these three questions, retir'd with the priests that were in his company.

SETHOS being now the second time left alone, the first thing that he did, was to write down the three questions propos'd to him, that he might not forget them. The first reflection he made, after considering them in general, was, that the priests, who, from the first day of his coming thither, had inform'd him, that their instructions, and his examination would turn chiefly upon his condition; had discoursed very little to him upon the duties of a king in particular, and had made no manner of mention of them in their questions. He concluded from thence, that they at least foresaw he would never attain to the royal dignity, and that all he was to expect was, to be a hero: After having utter'd some sighs for his misfortune, and the frailty of his father, he resolv'd to submit to the destiny the gods had prepar'd for him, and promis'd, with their assistance, to conform himself to it.

GOING out of his apartment towards the temple, he perceiv'd there was a profound
silence

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silence throughout the whole house. And, indeed, during these nine days, the priests, and all that inhabited this vast mansion, took care not to talk in his presence ; and in his absence they only whisper'd, and that but upon emergent occasions : At other times the priest and priestesses walk'd, and discours'd together at different hours in the garden. But during these nine days, Sethos never saw any body there but the priests, who by turns watch'd the Ox Apis that graz'd in the park, which was in the middle of it. The women from the city came to the priestesses, or to the sacerdotal palace by the street-way, but the priestesses never open'd the gallery-doors to them. These doors were even shut to the priestesses themselves during the nine days, and they had no manner of communication with the inward part of the house, tho' their husbands were always allow'd to go to them. Both men and women, that had any business with the priests, were not at any time admitted farther than the outward halls : so that no alteration being made without, it was never known in the city when there was a candidate with the priests : and this, as well as the other secrets of the house, was kept as inviolably by their wives, and the officers of the second order, as by themselves.

SETHOS was not a little surpriz'd upon being led into the common refectory,

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fectory, to find the priests table no better serv'd than his ; and that confining themselves, on his account, to the same fast which they had enjoin'd him, they had at each of their two meals no greater allowance than himself, viz. nine ounces of bread and a little water. He thence concluded, that the priests regarded the justness of his answers as a matter of very great importance ; and that requir'd his deepest reflection. However, as those who aspir'd to the initiation, some of whom were officers of war, had not all the gift of elocution, nor were all capable of giving an advantageous turn to their thoughts, a fault in expression was no hinderance to them, it being by no means a trial of wit or eloquence which they pretended to put them to : all the candidate had to do, was to manifest that he possess'd an upright beneficent heart, purg'd from that error, which is but too common in those who knowing their power, think their grandeur consists in setting themselves above all rule, and being fear'd by other men. It is true, when such persons did come under their hands, who were prompted to aspire to the initiation by no other motives but temerity or ambition, or who seem'd incorrigible ; they took pleasure in ridding the world of them, by sending them to exercise their valour and cunning in their subterraneous mansions. Many of those conquerors and
politi-

politicians so famed in our histories would have been bury'd alive here. However, such examples were very rare. They must have been very ignorant, who, before they attempted the probation, did not know that the character of an initiate was a compound of all the virtues. And if they did not know it before, must have been very untractable not to reform their judgments and manners by all the instructions and reproofs bestow'd upon them during the course of the purification of their minds. It was next to an impossibility for an initiate, after being confirm'd, to degenerate from his profession. There is no emulation among men more powerful than that of keeping up the honour of a small society into which we are admitted by merit and virtue. This emulation was, perhaps, not so efficacious in foreign initiates; because not having the example of their brethren before their eyes, they might forget their engagements: But as they were only made partakers of the second or particular initiation, they were not entirely of the same order with the Egyptian initiates, and the honour of their society was not dependent on them.

SETHOS had already spent five whole days in meditating upon his answers; when notice was brought to the high-priest, that

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there was at the gate of the temple a young Carthaginian, who seem'd by his air and attendants, to be a person of the highest distinction. He publickly declared, he had been doom'd by the senate of his city to repair to Memphis, to seek atonement for the death of his brother, whom he had had the misfortune to kill in a battle.



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ABOUT twenty years before, a Tyrian, by name Zoros, of the offspring of Cadmus, a man of valour and knowledge, had laid the foundation of the city of Carthage, or at least had enlarg'd the bounds of Carthada. In his frequent voyages to establish a trade on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, he had found no place for a settlement so convenient as this little city, built
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upon that agreeable shore, which has ever since been call'd, The sojourn of the nymphs. He at last resolv'd to settle at Carthada, and to enlarge it. To this end he carry'd all his vessels thither, laden with immense riches. He was receiv'd with joy by the inhabitants, who were not yet arriv'd to that pitch of opulency they soon after attain'd to by his assiduity. He enlarg'd and embellish'd it to such a degree, that it was hardly known to be the same; and he preserv'd its ancient name, only adding to it a Phœnician termination. The memory of Cadmus, from whom Zoros was descended, and whose virtues he pursu'd, made him valu'd, not only by the citizens of Carthage, but of all those cities which were built by this hero 200 years before, in the neighbourhood of it; and with which the country call'd Zeugitania was fill'd. Thus Zoros, in a very short time, form'd a considerable state: but to render his growing authority more acceptable, he chose to give his government the form of an aristocracy. He instituted a senate compos'd of ten citizens of Carthage, and of two of every other city, and for himself he only retain'd the title of prince of the senate. This, according to my memoirs, is the true origin of the city of Carthage, and conformable to the testimonies of Philistus, Appianus of Alexandria, and some others of our authors, put together; for the history of Dido is posterior to this epoch
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by some hundreds of years; and it is besides certain, that this fugitive prince's only built the citadel of Byrsa, as an addition to this city, which was long before founded.

THE high-priest would immediately have known the name of the young Carthaginian, whose fame was already sufficiently spread, but he would declare it to none but to him in person, thinking thereby to insinuate himself into his esteem. He was not yet acquainted with the character of these inflexible men, who, in points of religion, were no respecters of persons. The high-priest sent to acquaint him, that he should not receive him in the temple, but he must present himself at the gate of their college. That, in the mean time, he might have forborn divulging himself an action which demanded an atonement, and that these circumstances ought to have been reveal'd to the priests alone. The Carthaginian, who was more ashamed of this reprimand than of his odious exploit, in which he privately gloried, suffer'd himself to be led peaceably to the gate appointed. They made him come in alone, and told his attendants, they would hear no more of him till after three days. The high-priest, to whom he was introduc'd standing in the midst of his companions, without allowing him time to speak, told him; That before he made enquiry whether he had slain

his brother spontaneously, or by accident ; whether it was an actual assassination, or a murder committed under the pretext of the publick good, or his own defence ; they all look'd upon the fatal occasion which had brought him to this unfortunate action (so repugnant to nature) as a great mark of the anger of the gods pour'd down upon him : That he wou'd be put three days under strict confinement, and wou'd be allow'd but what was barely necessary for his subsistence. According to the laws of Egypt, added he, not only he who kills, but he who does not, to the utmost of his power, defend a person that is attack'd, and in danger of being assassinated, is guilty of death. We don't subject strangers to our laws, knowing, that with many, the punishment of homicide extends no farther than exile ; and the favourable tribunal of atonement is not sanguinary even in Egypt. We endeavour to inspire a fear of the gods, and a terror of their judgments into those Egyptians who are brought before us only for accidents or involuntary misfortunes, and into those strangers who are often sent to us for their crimes ; that as well one as the other may depart from hence more circumspect, and, if possible, more virtuous than the innocent themselves. However said he, to conclude, prepare to morrow to give a faithful account of your action in our full assembly. 'Till then, we will hear nothing concerning

concerning you. If your confession be then sincere, it will absolve you before the gods; but if, on the contrary, it is false or disguis'd, notwithstanding the exterior expiation you will receive, you will carry away your eternal damnation.

THE next morning the Carthaginian was sent for out of his prison, and brought as a criminal, cloath'd in sackcloth, into a great oval hall. The high-priest was seated at the upper end, and all the other priests on each side of him on seats something lower than his, as at the tribunal of the labyrinth. Initiates were allow'd to assist at these courts: so Amedes and Orpheus were present at this: they were plac'd below all the priests, and young Sethos sat without the row, and below the initiates. As it was the trial of a foreigner, who could not know him, and as his exercises were so far advanc'd, they thought it might be of advantage to him to hear judgment pronounc'd in a cause, which appear'd to be of importance and singular. The Carthaginian standing, and bare-headed, thus address'd himself to the court in the Egyptian tongue, of which he was perfectly master.

VENERABLE chief of this sacred college, and you the priests of the great goddess Isis; you see here before you Saphon, the son of

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the renowned Zoros, founder of Carthage, the establisher and prince of his senate. Tho' my brother Giscon * and I were twins, the prerogative of elder brother has never been disputed me. However, my father, who begins to advance in years, having purpos'd to settle the succession, during his own life, call'd my right in question, and annex'd to the glory of filling his place on the throne, a condition, which he offer'd my brother equal with me. The condition was, that which ever of us should, within the course of three years, perform the most heroick action, should be declar'd his successor, by him and by the senate. I won't attribute this thought of my father's to an unjust prædilection in favour of my brother, tho' my friends had before warn'd me of it : I rather choose to believe, that, enjoying the benefit of many victories I had gain'd for him ; and considering, that by the success of my arms I had added all Numidia to his dominions, he did not question but I should carry the prize before my brother ; and that so, adding the right of merit to that of my birth, I might thereby obtain a greater influence over the people I was to govern after his death. I don't pretend by this discourse to insinuate that my

* Saphon and Giscon are mention'd in ancient authors, who have wrote of Carthage, as very nearly related ; and some place them before the Trojan war. See Mariana's history of Spain, l. 1. & 2. and the remarks of father Charenton.

brother

brother wanted valour. However, he not only had never attempted to enlarge the new empire of Carthage, which he might have done on the other side; but he even never assisted me in my expeditions. Since we have been both of age to bear arms, his only exploits have been to repulse the Barbarians, who made frequent incursions into our southern provinces upon which they border'd, and who sometimes advanc'd to the very gates of Carthage. But to do justice to his vigilance and patience, 'tis certain he never had the opportunity of attacking and defeating more at once than parties of forty or fifty of these rovers: so that all these skirmishes join'd together, were in no measure to be compar'd to the glory and advantage of three or four victories I had obtain'd, and which began to make our empire one of the most powerful hitherto known. This was the state of affairs when my father made us both the proposal I have mention'd, in the assembled senate. I immediately concluded, that heroick actions were alone to be fought in war; and being persuaded that the principal virtue of a hero is valour, I prepar'd to fulfil the condition prescrib'd, by taking arms, and extending the conquests I had already begun.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the two first years I had advanc'd beyond Numidia, and conquer'd all Mauritania Sitifensis, so call'd
from

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from its metropolis Sitifi, which I had taken after a long siege. I propos'd to carry my arms to the foot of mount Atlas; and sparing none but the sacred country of the Hesperides, I did not despair of reaching the banks of the ocean in the course of the third year. But my designs were interrupted by an unexpected and surprizing account I receiv'd from Carthage, which oblig'd me to return thither. My brother disappear'd the very day after the proposal made by my father; and I concluded from that time, that he had given up all pretension: But I was inform'd at Sitifi, that he was gone over to those rambling nations who before us'd to invade our territories, and whom he himself had so often drove from our frontiers. I was inform'd he spent the two first years of his absence in going, with innumerable hazards and fatigues, either to their caves, which were many miles distant one from the other; or to their tents, which were frequently remov'd: That, by force of reiterated invitations and remonstrances, he had at last prevail'd upon them to unite, and to form a civiliz'd nation, to build cities at proper distances for their common conveniency, and to lay the foundation of a metropolis for the center of their dominions. We soon got intelligence, that, on the other side of the mountains, which we look upon as our borders to the southward, all diligence was imploy'd in raising the walls of the

the city of Capſa, ſituate on a river which empties itſelf into the ſea over-againſt the little Syrtis. Thus theſe people, who before were known by no other name than that of their unhappy profeſſion, rovers, affected now to be call'd Capſans, and demanded reſpect from their neighbours, and even from us. We muſt allow, that being now taken up with their ſettlement, they had for ſome time forbore their irruptions into our territories: But you will eaſily conceive, O! ye wiſe prieſts of Memphis, what an uneaſineſs an empire thus riſing up in the neighbourhood of our own, muſt cauſe us. I therefore thought it for my honour, and a duty incumbent on me, as well as for the intereſt of Carthage, to oppoſe the riſe of this ſtate. I prepar'd therefore to fall upon them in their forts, which were not yet finiſh'd, before their militia or even their republick could be regulated. As I had already a large army, I was preſently in a readineſs to march. As ſoon as my brother had notice of it, he ſent heralds to meet me; who, however, call'd themſelves deputies from the Capſans, and not from him. They declar'd, that they had no intention of living in enmity with the Carthaginians; that their whole deſign was to form a republick like ours; with this difference, that the inferiority of their numbers depriv'd them of all thoughts of acting upon the offensive: that they had begun to build
forts

forts and strong holds, and should finish them, only to defend themselves against their neighbours, if they should be so unjust to oppose their establishment. I answer'd them, It was enough for me to look on them as enemies, and even as criminals, that their chief was a son of the founder of Carthage, who, instead of acting in conjunction with his brother for the glory of his nation, destroy'd the hopes he had of making it one day the head of all the inhabited Africa, by erecting a republick in rivalry to his own; and who, if he was suffer'd to go on, would for ever set bounds to the Carthaginian empire towards the south. They reply'd, they had, indeed, follow'd the counsels of my brother, in forming themselves into a sociable and reasonable people, with whom we might enter into an alliance, and who would be our shelter against the incursions of the Garamantes and other barbarous nations less civiliz'd than they had been. And farther, that my brother had accepted of no command amongst them; and that in case of a battle, it was with them alone I should engage. As my motive to this expedition was state-policy, which would not allow the delay of a negociation; and besides, as my whole aim was the performance of heroick actions, I told them, in a word, I would give them my final answer in battle.

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I THEREFORE follow'd the heralds in their footsteps ; and tho' I led a whole army, they had enough to do to be more expeditious than I was. I intended to have pass'd the mountains, and have met them at the foot of the walls of Capfa : But as soon as the Capfians had receiv'd my answer, they prevented me, by crossing these mountains themselves, and thereby gain'd the advantage of fighting only on our territories. I was surpriz'd to discover, from the eminency of a little hill at some distance from them, an army that seem'd to be of about 40000 men, who had the mountains on their rear, thro' the passages of which they might easily be supply'd with fresh troops. However, as my army consisted of 100000 men, I thought my self in a condition to attack them. I halted a day and a night behind the hill which cover'd us, knowing, that as soon as I came in fight, I must engage. The enemy, on their side, as if they were as much inclin'd as I to end the quarrel by a battle, had left a large plain before them, whither I led my troops in battle-array : They even gave them time to post themselves, designing, without doubt, to engage them all at once. But then attacking us in front, and on both sides, they added to the order and resolution of disciplin'd soldiers, as they actually now were, the cunning they practis'd

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tis'd in former times, of giving the onset, and then immediately retiring. The battle, which began before noon, had already lasted full five hours, and we began to lose, by far, more men than they : I therefore resolv'd to make directly up to my brother, whom I had long known by his Carthaginian armour, and the motions he gave himself in the army he commanded ; though, for shame, as I presum'd, of being in arms against his own Father, and of staining himself with the blood of his own country-men, he never lifted up the visor of his helmet. Notwithstanding his activity, which carry'd him to every part of the battle where he thought his presence necessary, I soon came up to him. Traiterous son and brother (said I, accosting him) let the death of one of us put an end to this battle, too bloody for thy country. Without answering me, he with his sword put by the blow I had aim'd at the bottom of his helmet : But as he turn'd about to go away, I thrust mine to the hilt under his armour ; and in the same instant he fell dead at his horse's feet. This blow chang'd the face of the battle : The Capsans retir'd in good order thro' the passages of their mountains, and we remain'd masters of the field of battle. However, as I perceiv'd they put themselves in a posture to dispute the passage, and that my army, which was diminish'd 30000 men, was weary'd and disheartned,

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heartned, I retir'd, and for this time abandon'd the design I had of razing the walls of Capfa ; so my brother's fatal enterprize yet subsists, notwithstanding the defeat of the Capfans, and his death.

As soon as we return'd to Carthage, my father let me know, that the first time he saw me should be in the senate : He there, in my presence, declar'd to the whole body assembled, that the affliction he could not forbear labouring under for the death of my brother, notwithstanding his infidelity, to which he always gave the name of evident, had depriv'd him of that freedom of mind which was necessary to form a sound and upright judgment, with respect to me ; and that therefore he referr'd it wholly to them. After a long deliberation, during which I retir'd, I was call'd in again ; and the eldest senator, speaking in the name of the rest, said, That the senate, judging only by the exterior of things, and willing to prevent the danger of so ambiguous an example as that of my brother, was about to condemn his memory, tho' with regret, as having been slain in arms against his father and his country ; That in relation to me, without any decision on the condition prescrib'd, and annulling the proposal which had been made us, since my brother being dead, and I alone, it was now become unnecessary, they

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they confirm'd to me, even with the consent of my father, the succession to the principality of the senate, to which I had before a natural right by a moment of primogeniture ; but that to avert from me the anger of the gods, who alone know the grounds of things, and as a reparation of the prejudice that might be conceiv'd against me of having, under an honourable pretext, rid my self of a dangerous competitor, I should repair to the priests of Memphis, the most renown'd of all Egypt for their knowledge in religion and morality, and humbly supplicate the atonement of my crime from them : This, O venerable chief, and ye most sacred priests, is a faithful relation of my case, and the cause which brings me before your tribunal ; I intreat you will add to the expiation I desire for what is past, your wise instruction for my future conduct.

As soon as the Carthaginian had finish'd his discourse, the high-priest made him sit down on a stool which was plac'd behind him, and spoke as follows : Saphon, Son of Zoros, we have long since had a very great value for your father, the pacifick founder of Carthage, whose exploits have always tended to the good of mankind. All the judgments of your senate, which have come to our knowledge, have given us a great
idea

idea of their wisdom. We honour'd the virtue of your brother, before the last battle, which you have related to us, and of which we had before no particular account. With respect to you, we perceive, by your discourse, and we knew before by your fame, that you are a great warriour; but your principles are not conformable to ours. We have here a pupil, whom I will order to speak, and you shall learn from the mouth of a beginner, how much the instructions of our goddesses are superior to those confus'd and tumultuous ideas of the greater part of mankind; and especially of those who give themselves up to the blind passion of war. The high-priest immediately call'd Sethos; who approach'd him with great marks of surprize, modesty and obedience. He plac'd him standing opposite to the Carthaginian, and order'd him to give such answer to the discourse he had heard as the goddesses should inspire him. The high-priest look'd upon it as a happy encounter, that there appear'd some heroick actions in the history of Saphon and Giscon; and he did not doubt but Sethos would in this discourse make use of what he had been five days in preparing, in answer to the three questions propos'd to him, viz. What is the principal virtue of a hero? Does heroism consist in exceeding the bounds of duty? Is it heroick for a man to sacrifice even his honour for the interest of his country, or

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the advantage of mankind? Before the young prince began, the high-priest told Saphon, That the birth of this young man alone would give him right to answer him; and besides that, they were all there present to lead him into the way of truth and justice, if he might happen to depart from it. It was upon this circumstance, to which Orpheus was witness, that he establish'd it as a rule in Greece, that the expiation might be given by those kings who were initiated to the mysteries of Eleusina; as Bellerophon went to receive it from Proetus, king of Argos, not to mention many other examples. Young Sethos thus began his discourse:

ISIS, great goddess of the Egyptians, vouchsafe to guide my tongue, and suffer me not to utter any thing that may be unworthy of the instructions your sacred ministers have given me in your name. In my opinion, Saphon, you did not rightly take the sense of the proposal made you, when you believ'd that the heroick action requir'd of you, consisted in assailing your neighbours, and subduing them without distinction. I don't hint at the conquest you made of Sirisi after the condition prescrib'd, because as you have not said for what reason you took arms against that people, your relation (to which alone I ought to confine myself) don't furnish me wherewithal to judge whether your conquest was
good

good or evil. I am, however, persuaded, that if you assaulted it for no other reason, but to gain the glory of having done an heroick action, that very intention has made you fail of it ; because an heroick action cannot have the glory of him that does it for its object and aim, but must necessarily have in view the interest and advantage of others. You have given a long account of the motive which led you against the Capsans ; and your relation of it alone, in my opinion, is sufficient to shew the injustice of your cause, which sets you at yet a greater distance from heroism ; because an heroick action proceeding from a principle of virtue, it is impossible that virtue should subsist with injustice. In reality, you have yourself refuted the pretext of the danger of a republick being erected adjoining to you, when you allow, that the Capsans, being busied in their settlement, had forbore their inroads into your dominions. These incursions are dangers which those states that are too near the savages can hardly ever free themselves from ; because these people never forming themselves into great bodies, it is impossible utterly to root them out ; and, slipping by without being perceiv'd, they find passages by the sides of those fortresses and walls, which stop whole armies. Thus your opposing, on account of a very distant danger, the rise of a republick, which, by the narrow bounds of its territories, in

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comparison of the extent of your empire, could not cause you any apprehension ; which, besides, offer'd you its friendship and alliance, and which itself defends you from other more dangerous barbarians, would have brought your country into a present and continual evil, to obtain the honour of a victory profitable to you alone : An example which has been but too often given by those warlike princes, who have sacrific'd not only foreign and innocent nations, but the estates and lives of their own subjects, to their particular fame. You was, I think, yet more in the wrong, by alledging to the Capsan heralds the hopes your nation had conceiv'd of overcoming all the habitable lands of Africa : For, besides that your country has no more right than you to make unjust conquests, the dominions of the Capsans themselves became habitable only by the care they had taken to cultivate their grounds, and to separate them by cities, since they were become a civiliz'd people. So that by attempting to destroy them, it was not your fault, if your country did not remain surrounded, as it had been before, either by dens of thieves or frightful desarts : and you have imitated, at least on this occasion, those conquerors, who, in all appearance, would reduce the whole world into one vast desert.

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THE beginning of all these errors has been the false idea you have conceiv'd of the character of a hero, when you imagin'd his chief virtue was valour; whereas valour itself is rather a natural and advantageous disposition of the mind and body, than a virtue. We may make, as of several other the like qualities, a good or bad use of it. It is often found in wicked men; and has sometimes made those men bad, who without it would have been good. Valour can alone become laudable and honourable when it is employ'd and directed by a superior virtue. This virtue, in a subject or citizen, is the love of his prince and his country, guided by his obedience alone. In a prince, or the head of a republick, it is the love of his people, heighten'd by the justice he observes with regard even to his neighbours and his enemies. In the hero, to conclude, it is the love of mankind in general, or humanity guided by a zeal founded upon a lively hope of the protection of the gods. So it is this courageous humanity, this zealous love for mankind, which is the chief virtue of a hero. True courage, which, taken in general, is agreeable to every condition, and even to both sexes; but which, apply'd to war, is call'd valour, consists always in facing every danger in the pursuit of our duty. It is this only view of our duty which distinguishes true and virtuous valour from

blind fury and unjust violence, and which renders heroism itself reasonable. But I have been taught that there are two sorts of duty: one of condition, and the other of inspiration: The duty of condition regards those, who being necessary to their country or families, or who even mistrusting their capacity, wisely confine themselves to perform the common obligations of their condition, preferable in most men to all other. The duty of inspiration is only proper to those whom the gods seem to have singled out of the common order of men, to lead them to works more sublime in themselves, and of more advantage either to their country, or to mankind: and this last duty, generally pointed out by the singular junctures into which providence puts some men, becomes the duty of a hero. To perform it, requires a valour exalted above that of vulgar conquerors; and thus we see that the true hero or benefactor of mankind has always been esteem'd the most courageous of men. A heart thus inspir'd, a man indued with this genuine heroism, runs no hazard of stopping in the midst of his course; nothing is dangerous to him, but going beyond the bounds of his duty; and his whole attention is to resist every motion of an extravagant valour or magnanimity; that is, which would only tend to his own glory, without turning to the advantage of other men, to whom he has devoted his labours and his life. He
knows,

knows that sublime virtue is approv'd, not by works of supererogation, but by an entire and perfect accomplishment of those which his duty requires of him. This duty is as extensive as the publick good; but then the publick good gives bounds to it, which he will never go beyond. In short, the hero, far from hunting after vain-glory, exposes himself, for the service of his country, or mankind, to the capricious constructions and unjust judgments of those very men he is serving. Uncapable of committing a base action, under any pretext of advantage whatsoever, he never sacrifices that real honour which is inherent in him: but being steadfast in his undertakings, for the accomplishing of them, he readily sacrifices that seeming honour which depends upon the transitory opinion of envious or misinform'd persons. By these signs, Saphon, the true hero, has been distinguish'd; and by his example we ought to learn, that those actions which make the least shew, are not always the least heroick.

As soon as Sethos had finish'd this discourse, he turn'd about towards the high-priest, who gave him a sign to return to his seat, and then address'd himself to the Carthaginian in the following terms: Saphon, said he, the same spirit which inspires all the servants of our goddess, has made this young man speak, as we ourselves would have

P 4

spoken.

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spoken. The image he has given you of a hero agrees with that of Gifcon, your brother, in the two first years of his expedition, And, indeed, in those enemies, who cost him so much labour while he defended your dominions from their inroads, he discover'd men who in that quality were worthy of his affection and tender regards; and, in serving his country, he imagin'd he might serve them too. According to your own testimony, he underwent all the labours and dangers which attended this duty of inspiration: and to perform it, he, from the beginning, expos'd himself to disadvantageous suspicions, which you yourself have countenanc'd, and through which your father and your senate alone have discover'd the truth. But we make a distinction between these times, and those in which, according to your relation, your brother march'd the Capsan troops into the dominions of Carthage. They had a right of advancing that length to oppose your attack, but he had no authority to lead them thither. This last circumstance is the more blameable in him, and especially in the battle with the Carthaginians, in which he commanded in person; as he thought it was contrary to his duty to accept of any dignity among the Capsans, and as, in all appearance, he had put them into a condition of defending themselves. But let me tell you, you ought to reproach yourself for the wrong he has done. Unjust proceedings

proceedings often perplex virtue itself. Your brother's death has been an atonement to the gods for him; and we shall concur with you to appease them in your favour.

HOWEVER, notwithstanding the injustice of the motives which engag'd you in the Capſan war, and urg'd you to the murder of your brother; as both have been cover'd with the specious pretext of serving your country, your senate has wiſely decreed you ſucceſſor to your father. The title of heir to a crown, or other paternal dignities, do not require thoſe refin'd virtues which are inſeparable from a hero: and it is even for the advantage and eaſe of the publick, that ſucceſſions be rather dependant on the order of birth, than on the difficult and often dangerous eſtimate of perſonal merit. It ſeems even as if your brother yielded up that right of ſucceſſion to you, which he knew he had no pretence to, by leaving Carthage to purſue his heroick deſign of civilizing a barbarous nation. It is your duty, Saphon, to govern your people according to the maxims you have here had a glimpe of, and rather as a juſt prince than a great commander. This laſt quality, which is glorious in a man of your age, who bears arms for the ſervice of his father, is by far leſs ſuitable to the head of a great republick, who has actually taken upon him the care of his people, and the maintenance of their laws.

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laws. We are not so unjust, as not to set a value upon your skill in the art of war ; nor do we condemn all your victories. We know that the Nomades, before you conquer'd their country, were as unciviliz'd as the Capians before your brother's expedition. We even know, that you was careful to preserve the fertile meadows of Numidia ; and that your father, to this day, treats that country as one of his most faithful provinces. To conquer nations, who are destitute of master and laws, in order to make them more happy and more polite than they were before, is allowable. It is even blameless to subdue people who have a chief, and are subjected to laws, when they are unjust and irreconcilable enemies to your country, as we have been inform'd the inhabitants of the Mauritania Sitifensis, which you have very justly brought under your yoke, were, with regard to Carthage. All you have hitherto been wanting in, has been to know the true maxims of morality, and how to guide your valour, and the other noble qualities the gods have endued you with. For want of this knowledge and uprightness of intention, it has happen'd, that either your actions have been unjust, or even those actions which have been good in themselves, have not been acceptable in the eyes of the gods. We shall here put an end to the instructions you yourself have desired. Reflect on them in silence the remainder of this day. To-morrow

morrow you shall pass thro' the corporal expiation; and the next day we shall offer the expiatory sacrifice. The Carthaginian would have offer'd something in his own defence; but the officers of the second order, who had the care of his person, and who led him away, inform'd him, that he was not allow'd to reply; and that, besides, it would be superfluous before a tribunal of mediation and grace. As soon as he was retir'd, the high-priest ask'd all his companions, if they did not think Sethos had in his discourse fully answer'd the three questions which had been propos'd to him six days before. They all reply'd, he had sufficiently resolv'd them; and that, on occasion of the history of the Carthaginian and his brother, he had made his answer as extensive and as precise as could be requir'd of him. If so, said the high-priest, we will finish the nine days fast, and invoke the gods, that they will eternally imprint in the mind of this young prince, those maxims which they themselves have inspir'd him with: And I believe we may likewise dispense our house from that silence which they must otherwise have kept three days longer in favour of any other candidate who had not finish'd so soon as this. This silence would even be difficult to keep amidst all the ceremonies of atonement for the Carthaginian. I believe we may admit Sethos to them, because, by the answers he has given,
he

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he has already merited the privilege of the manifestation. The priests were unanimously of the same opinion.

THE next morning at break of day, the priests of the expiation, attended by several officers of the second order, went to fetch the Carthaginian out of his prison ; in which was a door that open'd to the subterranean canal, which the candidates must pass in their trials for the initiation. This door was near the water-fall, above the bars through which the water enter'd into that canal. This door they open'd on the inside for him to go out. Both sides of the water were made light by means of torches, and discover'd to his eyes a frightful preparation of machines, and of people appointed to manage them. On the bank on his side stood a vessel of brass, fill'd with a thickish liquor ; and close by the water, a piece of red-hot iron, of the length of the tallest man, and hollow'd out in its breadth, which was about three feet, so that it resembled a long and large pipe cut in half the length-ways : It was supported by iron-feet over a fire of coals, and one end of it was a little sloping towards the water : An officer of the second order held the end of a rope of about the thickness of a little finger ; which crossing the breadth of the canal, was wound round the concave circumference of a very large wheel on the other side : Thro' the
center

center of this wheel went an axle, to which were fasten'd two strong handles to turn it by, and several men stood ready by them to that end. Several priests, and some initiates, together with Sethos and Orpheus, were seated, on the right and on the left, by the sides of the wheel. As intrepid as Saphon was, he could not forbear asking the chief priest of the expiation, the only priest that was with him, what was to be the nature of his punishment, that he might prepare for it? The priest answer'd him, that he had some reason to call the purifications he was going thro', a punishment; but however, that if he could bear the simple agitations of his body, and above all, would not suffer himself to be overcome by a fear (which they ought not to suspect in him) he would come out of them as sound as he went in. They made him swallow some drops of a strengthening liquor; after which, they tuck'd up his hair under a cap of incombustible linnen: they next stript him stark-naked, and laid him upon a sheet on the ground, stretch'd out at length: There, he who held the cord ty'd his two wrists cross one another, and stretching out his arms to their full length, he bound his feet together with the same cord, leaving as much rope as was necessary to go from the wrists to the feet, without hurting the natural situation of his body. All this was done with a wonderful quickness and sleight of hand, and without

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without giving him the least reason of complaint. In this condition six men lifted him up, and desiring him to close his mouth and eyes, plung'd him over head and ears into the brass vessel, which was fill'd with a dissolution of garlick, saffron, oil of worms, and other ingredients ; which, when mix'd, had the infallible virtue of resisting the force of fire *. These officers took care, during the short time they held the patient plung'd in the vessel, to shift their hands continually, that every part of his body might be ting'd with the liquor. Immediately afterwards, they laid him on the bed of red-hot iron : and the property of the ointment was such, that it made the body slide rapidly from it, and fall in an instant into the water ; where were officers naked, ready to receive him, that he might not strike against the banks which were shelving ; and others plung'd in and follow'd him, that he might not touch the bottom. In the mean time, the wheel, to which the rope was fasten'd, turn'd round with a regular motion, to draw the patient over in such a space of time that he might not be suffocated by the water. He came out feet foremost ; and being drawn to the wheel, with his head hanging downwards, he was fasten'd to it by leather straps under his arm-

* Erant ex Ægyptiis qui faciem certis inundam succis in athena ferventia citra noxam immergerent. Epiph. ad finem panarii seu librorum adv. hæreses.

pits ;

pits; and in this condition the wheel was turn'd three times quite round with him upon it. From this, Orpheus took his idea of the fable of Ixion. He was then loosen'd from the wheel; and being laid on a bed, was carry'd into an upper chamber, where the priests, who were physicians, gave him all sorts of restoratives that might be necessary for the relief of his body or mind. However, he was afterwards carry'd back again into his prison, where he was to lie the following night. By this description we see that the three parts of corporal atonement for criminals, answer'd exactly to the three trials of the purification of the body preparative to the initiation: but there was this difference, that these trials of candidates for the initiation were voluntary; whereas criminals, being always bound, were forc'd by the hands of others to undergo their punishments. There were, indeed, atonements of a more moderate nature for crimes less atrocious than murder.

THE third day, before sun-rise, the preparations for the expiatory sacrifice were begun. I shall not give the particulars of a ceremony, which lasted almost a whole day; I shall only observe, that it consisted of two principal parts, both of which were perform'd in the temple; but the former, with the gates shut. In this it was they undertook
to

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to appease Typhon, the mischievous genius or deity, which the Egyptians look'd upon as the instigator of all the crimes of men, and the author of all their evils. From thence Zoroaster, and the sages of Persia, took their evil genius Arimanus, who was always the opposer of Orimasus their universal benefactor; the Greeks, their Apopompean and Apotropean deities in opposition to Jupiter Olympus; and the Latins, their Averrunci, opposites to their assisting Jupiter, (*Jovi juvanti*). In Egypt their custom was, on this occasion, to lead a red bullock (of which colour they suppos'd Typhon to have been) into the hinder part of the sanctuary. The priest, chief of the expiations, laid his hand on the head of the victim, and pronounc'd these words, of which part are related by Herodotus * :

“ May the guilt of the criminal here present,
 “ with all the unhappy consequences which it
 “ ought justly to draw upon him, his family
 “ and country, pass into this animal, which we
 “ sacrifice to thee, O Typhon ! as a representation
 “ of the death of him who is the object
 “ of your hatred.” In that instant the bullock was knock'd down by a blow between the horns; and the priest having cut his throat, sprinkled the criminal, who was yet cloathed in sackcloth, with his blood. But whereas in other sacrifices, the priests, and even those

* Lib. 2.

who

who made the offering, divided and carry'd away the victim in pieces for food; every part of the expiatory victim was cast out into the fields.

THEY next endeavour'd to appease the manes of the dead. Those who came thither to obtain the expiation, found round about the temple sellers of images of men and women, of ordinary workmanship, and always plac'd upon little pedestals. They were of gold, silver, or brass; and their height from three to twelve inches. They were made use of in this ceremony to represent indifferently the person, or sometimes even the deity offended. The sellers put those who demanded admittance to the expiation in mind to take one in with them, of matter and height proportion'd to their circumstances. Saphon, before he enter'd, had not been wanting to choose one of gold of the largest size; which he was to leave in the temple for a retribution according to custom. The priest having set it before him on a table, to represent Giskon, pronounc'd his encomiums in the name of the guilty, who was always suppos'd to confess the good qualities of the person he had murder'd. In this elogy, which was prepar'd the evening before, and written at length in their ritual, the priest read several particulars of the life of the deceas'd, which he knew by

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other

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other means than by the confession of the criminal, and at which he was often astonish'd. By practices of this kind, manag'd with a great deal of cunning, the priests had acquir'd the fame of having secret knowledge, and heavenly revelations.

To conclude; they purify'd the air round about the criminal, by means of a suffumigation compos'd of sixteen drugs (a cubick number.) Plutarch has preserv'd a list of them in his treatise of Isis and Osiris; and the receipt of it is yet found in our dispensaries, under the name of Trochisk of Cyphi *. All this being perform'd, he was put into a bath; at his going out of which, he was cloath'd with the habit he had on when he came into the college. They then presented as well to him as to the priests and initiates, among whom was Sethos, bread and wine; which they eat and drank on the spot in silence. After this he was conducted thro' the outward passages of the sanctuary into the nave of the church; but he was as yet guarded by officers of the second order. Then the children of the priests enter'd, either to wait at the altar, or to perform the chorus's of musick. The gates of the temple were open'd, and the high-priest offer'd, in the front of the

* Marsh. p. 203.

sanctuary,

sanctuary, that sacrifice to the propitious deities, which they call'd pacifick, and in which they offer'd a white lamb.

BEFORE the gates of the temple were open'd, Sethos, who was not yet to be seen, was gone up into his seat ; and after all the ceremony was over, the Carthaginian, (who was to fast this third day till after sunset, which was not yet approaching) was led away.

THE moment they all went out of the temple, thro' the end of the sanctuary, to return to the college, news was brought the high-priest, that there was a candidate in the subterraneous temple, who without doubt would soon appear. The high-priest and his companions, who were yet together, plac'd themselves in order behind the triple statue. Quickly afterwards they heard the noise of the wheels inclos'd within the pedestal ; and the priests saw a man come out, who was not arm'd with a helmet and cuirass, like Saphon, but who otherwise had as perfect a resemblance of him, as could be between two twin-brothers. The high-priest congratulating him, as customary, on his address and valour, ventur'd to call him Giscon ; which surpriz'd him extreamly. But having afterwards made him kneel down, and having pronounc'd over him that form of words, in which they
Q 2 call'd

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call'd him, New Votary of the great goddess
 Isis ; the candidate arose, and said, " Vene-
 " rable priests of Memphis, I shall not
 " conceal from you either my condition or
 " fortune ; and I plainly see, by the know-
 " ledge you have of my name, it would be
 " to no purpose to do it: but I myself must
 " confess, that if you judge of me by the dis-
 " advantageous opinion the world has of me,
 " I am unworthy to be the servant of your
 " goddess. I am, indeed, Giscon, that un-
 " fortunate Carthaginian, proscrib'd by my
 " fellow-citizens, and banish'd by the Cap-
 " sians. The first make me criminal for
 " commanding an army against my country ;
 " and the second, for refusing to bear arms
 " against it. The Carthaginians believe my
 " death certain, and look upon it as a punish-
 " ment for a battle I had no concern in ;
 " and the Capsians, a vagabond people, of
 " whom I have form'd a republick, already
 " renown'd, have banish'd me, as a man who
 " has refus'd to encounter with their greatest
 " enemies, the Carthaginians." Here the
 high-priest interrupted him, and said, " Gis-
 " con, we already know the greater part of
 " your history. We have approv'd of the
 " beginning of it, and have condemn'd the
 " conclusion, in the manner we have been
 " inform'd of it: But your innocence is now
 " confirm'd to us by seeing you alive. That,
 " however, is not sufficient: Saphon, your
 " brother,

“ brother, who is actually in this house, and
“ on whom we have just finish’d the cere-
“ monies of atonement, which your senate
“ enjoin’d him to seek here for your suppos’d
“ death, must be a witness of it. By that
“ we make a considerable breach in our rule,
“ that no candidate is allow’d to discourse
“ with any prophane person, till the course
“ of his exercises be finish’d. But as it is
“ the duty of a good man to clear himself
“ as soon as possible from crimes laid to his
“ charge, it is ours to facilitate the means of
“ it. Your brother, in carrying your justi-
“ fication before you to Carthage, will carry
“ at the same time his own ; and after having
“ been purify’d here before the gods for his
“ unjust and wicked intention, he will clear
“ himself, in the sight of your father, your
“ senate, and your people, from the ever
“ odious name of murderer of his own bro-
“ ther.” The high-priest first made Giscon
drink the cup of oblivion ; and while he was
drinking it, pronounc’d the usual form of
words : but he added, that while he was re-
lating to his brother, in their presence, what
he did during the battle ; how the person
who was kill’d instead of him came by his
armour ; and finally, why, when banish’d
by the Capsans, he came into Egypt ; he
should be very careful not to make any men-
tion of those first trials of the initiation which
he had gone thro’ ; of the opening of the

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pyramid

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pyramid thro' which he enter'd ; or of that of the pedestal of the triple statue of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, thro' which he now came thither. After which, the high-priest made a sign to have Saphon sent for.

GISCON had time enough, before his brother came, to tell the high-priest, that he had always had an ardent desire of being made an initiate at Memphis, and to receive of him and his companions those precepts and examples of virtue which made them esteem'd thro' the whole world ; but that since his misfortunes, he could hardly pretend to a title so honourable, or to burthen a body of men, whose reputation was so precious, with a man every where regarded as a criminal. However, continu'd he, reflecting at the same time, that the gods are the refuge of the unhappy, and that persecuted innocence finds a sure sanctuary in them ; What more favourable opportunity could I have of offering myself to them, than my exile itself ? and what more pressing reason to devote myself intirely to their service, than the state I was reduc'd to by injustice and ingratitude, of being no farther serviceable to mankind, unknown, and fearful of being known ? I travers'd Ciniphi, Tripolitania, the country of the Nasamones, and the desarts of Marmorica : In Libya I pass'd by the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which I saluted at a distance,

tance, without daring to approach it. I knew at Carthage, and from the very time I first aspir'd to the initiation, that the opening of the pyramid was the way to it, without, however, knowing that it led into this holy temple. But I had heard mention made of the dreadful inscription at the bottom of the well ; and of the perilous purifications of the body, which were previous to the preparations of the mind. I resolv'd, when I left Capſa, to undergo the danger of the former, without any farther pretence to the latter ; or at least, to give a sincere relation of my name and circumstances to the holy priests, who were to receive me. At my arrival, yesterday evening, in the borough, nearest the pyramid, my host, whom I only made acquainted with the desire I had of visiting it, made me a present of a lamp, which he told me was proper for my design. I departed at sun-rising ; and being about two hours afterwards at the foot of the pyramid, I ascended it with a resolution of perishing, if the disgrace I labour'd under, with regard to man, was an effect of the wrath of the gods themselves ; and abandoning my justification to time, the discoverer of all things. But what shall I say ? My indifference, with regard to death, strengthen'd me against it, and has led me to you, O most holy priests of Isis, ready to submit to the lot you may judge me worthy of upon my

own confession. The high-priest answer'd, Giskon, the thoughts of the gods are not conformable to those of men; and we ourselves shall better judge of your past conduct by the account you are going to give of it in the presence of your brother.

UPON that Saphon came in; but it is impossible to express the confusion which arose in his mind, at the first sight of his brother. He was not long in reflecting how he came into the hinder part of the sanctuary, from whence he himself was but just departed: but he now first conceiv'd, that another besides his brother might have worn Carthaginian armour in the battle. Asham'd of his error, which he perceiv'd was very palpable, he had a violent suspicion that the priests themselves had had Giskon with them several days, and made a secret of it to him, to make him undergo the horrible fatigues of the atonement, for a crime of which he had rashly and falsely accus'd himself. He remember'd, at the same time, the instructions he had so lately receiv'd from a master hardly come to man's estate, who had destroy'd the pretended heroism of his exploits, and had shewn him, that valour, his favourite virtue, had till then been in him only a blind and pernicious passion. He saw this brother living, who was pronounc'd a greater hero than himself, even at a time when he was thought dead as a
crimi-

criminal. In a word, he found himself plung'd into an humiliation, against which he could find no remedy in his mind. Happily for him to recover his surprize, his brother Giscon was to speak first ; and he thus began his discourse :

BROTHER, these venerable priests enjoin me to appear before your eyes this very moment, to justify us both ; myself for having commanded an army of Capsians against the Carthaginians ; and you for having imbrued your hands in my blood. However ardently I pursued my design of forming the republick of the Capsians, and whatever diligence I us'd to put them into a state of defence against the assaults of their neighbours ; I had declar'd to them, that tho' I was ready to sacrifice my life for them against all their other enemies, I would never take up arms against my country. I did not even scruple to tell them, that I was only theirs for a time, and that after having executed the design I had conceiv'd so much to their advantage, as well my person as my services were devoted to my father and my country. I had given them this notice in time, to remove any suspicion that might arise of my having united them only with a design to deliver their whole nation with greater ease into the hands of the Carthaginians. Notwithstanding all this caution I had taken, as soon as they
were

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were advis'd of your march towards Capfa, they gave me to understand in their council of war, that they should esteem me as a coward or a traytor, if I did not take the command of their army against you. I answer'd, That I forgave these their injurious terms, the remains of their former ferocity, but that I was led by maxims superior to theirs ; that no human constraint should ever make me depart from a resolution which I had not taken till after having maturely consulted the laws of justice and honour. I even added, that tho' I was oblig'd to them for the confidence they had plac'd in me, in which they were not deceiv'd, if they kept within the bounds they had prescrib'd them, they acted contrary to common prudence in pressing me to accept of the command of an army, which I should lead but by force, if I were capable of yielding to their desires. That thus, all I could advise them to, was to inform you by heralds of the equity of their pretensions, and the injustice of your assaulting them: But I oblig'd them, for the maintenance of their own sovereign authority, to enjoin those heralds to speak in their name, and not in mine ; and above all, that they should inform you in express terms, that as I had not accepted of any office among them, it would not be with me you were to engage in battle. I know all this was faithfully related to you ; and by this you might at least have

have suspected I was not that commander you kill'd. In the mean time the Capsans, full of indignation at your answer, immediately nam'd for their general the person I had recommended to them as the most proper amongst them for their chief after my retreat, the first to whom I had communicated the design I had of uniting them, and who had been my chief instrument in that undertaking. They moreover stript me of my armour, and put it on him, to deceive you, and, against my will, to make me liable to the suspicion and appearance of being concern'd in an action in which in reality I had no part. They immediately pass'd the mountains which separate them from the dominions of Carthage, and they affected to lay waste on their side a greater spot of ground than was necessary to inclose their army. The manner of the battle you are better acquainted with than I who was not in it: But the Capsans who, in defending their own country with all the resolution of a new-form'd republick, had lost but very few of their people, return'd to their city, where they kept me strictly guarded. There they elected in my presence, and without consulting me, a new general; to whom, however, I should have given my vote. After which, they enjoin'd me, by a decree in form, to depart their dominions, without offering me any
thanks

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thanks for the past, or indeed any other insult for the present.

IT would have been natural for me to return to Carthage; and by shewing myself there, to justify the only thing which could be imputed to me as a crime, during the two years of my absence. But I had been inform'd, as well by your answer to the heralds, as by other means, that you had, as well in your army as throughout the whole nation, cast a blemish upon the enterprize I had just succeeded in, of giving laws and manners to the Capsians. Reason made me first conceive, and experience has confirm'd it to me, that this was the only expedient which would free us from these rovers, who never invaded us but in separate troops, whom 'twas impossible for me to rencounter in their own territories, and from whom we had even nothing to fear, but by their being dispers'd. This thought had long revolv'd in my mind, and the choice our father had left us of our expeditions, when he engag'd to declare him his successor, who should perform the most heroick action, gave me an opportunity of putting it in execution. But having no design to dispute a right, which was yours by birth, I left to you those glorious advantages which you might render our empire by the fame of your arms, and went to seek at a distance an
obscure

obscure service, very dangerous in its execution, and very doubtful in its success. I must confess, however, I did not expect you would have imputed to me as a crime an expedition actually accomplish'd to the benefit of our country, and of which it had already gather'd the fruits in the security of its high-ways, and the tranquillity in its plains. I thought it my duty to let the storm of persecution you had rais'd against me, pass over; and I would not oppose the proscription you had drawn upon me from our senate, tho' chiefly grounded upon the false supposition of my having been in the battle, and of my death; and I very well know my father was, in some measure, persuaded of my innocence; and that the senate had not condemn'd me but with regret. But I am come into Egypt, to lay myself at the feet of these holy priests, as the source of all justice; persuaded, that a decision from this sacred tribunal, will re-establish my blemish'd honour more securely, than an inconsiderate return could have done. I have even no farther desire of returning to Carthage, after what has happen'd; and it shan't be my fault, if I don't end my days in this holy temple.

THE high-priest, then beginning to speak, said; Saphon, before you answer your brother what you may think proper, and that you may have occasion to speak but once, I myself

myself will put a conclusion to his discourse, by telling you, That not only his conduct has been unblameable from the first to the last step of his expedition, but he has fully gain'd the advantage of you in having perform'd the most heroick action. He has, however, no right to the prize your father had set upon it. Whatever motive the wise Zoros may have had, the gods, more prudent and mighty than he, have brought matters to their true period, and have drawn even from the error of your senate, the just sentence they have pronounc'd, by securing to you the succession to your father. Giscon, as you have heard, gives his consent to it; and he could not oppose it, without losing before the gods and men, the glory of those great works he has hitherto perform'd. We don't, however, approve of the resolution he seems to have brought with him hither, of renouncing the service of his country. The gods, who have no need of us, look upon the services we do to men, who are the work of their hands, as the surest mark of our piety towards them; and a perpetual retirement is only commendable in those who never could, or can no longer be of service to other men. It is true, the instructions we may go in search of, or our meditations at different times, and especially under misfortunes, contribute greatly to our perfection, and render us more useful for the future. And thus your brother ought to be
thankful

thankful to the gods for the mischance which has led him hither, to receive the initiation, to which we are going to prepare him : But as soon as he is made partaker of it, we ourselves shall send him to Carthage, that he may there continue to serve his country under your illustrious father, during the remainder of his old age ; and under you, when you shall be invested with his dignity.

SAPHON, then lifting up his eyes and his hands to the triple statue, said ; Isis, great goddess of the Egyptians, I at last yield to your wisdom. I for ever disclaim my blind projects, and vain exploits ; and am too happy that even my transgression has been imaginary. I accept with an entire submission, and a profound gratitude, those instructions which I have receiv'd from your holy ministers, and from the youngest of your disciples. They have all been confirm'd and justify'd by every circumstance of this adventure, which is visibly a work of divine providence. My dear brother, I am going to prepare the way for your return to Carthage, by the most authentick justification of your actions which I shall be capable of giving. The testimony of these holy priests will be without doubt more respected ; but it shall neither be more faithful, nor so ready as mine. The high-priest made a sign to Giskon to go to his brother ; and they embrac'd
with

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with all imaginable tenderness. Saphon was once more led into his apartment; and as the setting sun began to quit the horizon, he there found a handsome but frugal repast, and a vase fill'd with excellent wine. It was left to his choice, either to go out that evening, or to take his repose there in the bed he saw prepar'd. But Saphon, after having accepted of the refreshment set before him, and being inform'd that his servants attended without, express'd his gratitude in a polite manner to the priests who bore him company, and who waited on him to the gate of their college.

WITH regard to Giscon, as his exercises were not to commence till the next day, he was conducted into the same apartment Sethos had, till then, possess'd; but from whence he was that day to remove into those destin'd for the initiates, who had always lodgings in the colleges of the priests; in which, if they thought fit, they were allow'd to spend their days. Antient history gives us examples of kings, who were initiates; and who having, either by reason of their age or infirmities, given up the cares of government to worthy successors, had desired no other retirement.

ALL the initiates were allow'd this first evening to see the candidate, for whom a great

great entertainment was prepar'd, but none eat with him. The priests, who had carry'd Sethos thither, engag'd him to relate to Giscon all that had pass'd with regard to his brother, and even the part he had had in the instructions which had been given him. This recital inspir'd the Carthaginian with an extraordinary respect for this young prince; who, for his part, had before conceiv'd a very high esteem for this stranger, whose eminent virtue might have done honour to Egypt itself. And thus they cemented those bonds of solid friendship, which will prove of such assistance to Giscon, to deliver him from misfortunes which a fatal passion will plunge him into in the sequel of this history.

BEFORE Sethos was led into the Carthaginian's apartment, they made him break his fast with a regulated quantity of wholesome and succulent food, and a little wine. But as this fast had been of long duration, and the austerity of it had been increasing for near three months, till it came to its extreme; the priests, who were physicians, were to preside at all his meals for the twelve following days, to bring him by degrees to his usual way of living. These twelve days were allotted for the manifestation, the third and last part of the initiation, which was rather a recompence for the exercises that had preceded, than any exercise in itself.

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Human

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Human curiosity was here fully satisfy'd, by a discovery of the sacred mysteries, and other secrets of the Egyptian priesthood : and in imitation of the greatest travellers upon earth, the initiates, visiting the subterraneous dwellings of Egypt, travell'd, as it were, into another world.

THE first of these twelve days, at the dawn of day, the candidate was led to the triple statue ; and being made to kneel before it, the high-priest consecrated him first to Isis ; who by the wisdom she had inspir'd him with, had render'd him worthy of being admitted to a revelation of her mysteries : Secondly, to Osiris, the benefactor of mankind ; to the service of whom he had, in imitation of his great example, devoted himself : And lastly, to Horus, the god of silence, and of the secret to which he was going to bind himself. They then immediately caus'd him to read the form of a terrifying oath. He swore never to divulge to any prophane person the least of what he was to see in these twelve days, or at any other time, in the subterranean temples of Egypt ; submitting himself, if he violated this secret, to the vengeance of all the deities of heaven, earth, and hell ; declaring himself, in this case, guilty of death, and subscribing before hand to the execution of this sentence, which they look'd upon as pronounc'd. It is certain, that

that the bare observation of their religious secrets gave the initiates, as well as the priests, a fund of wisdom and discretion, for which they were reverenc'd, and which procur'd them, as well from princes as private persons, an entire confidence of secrets in every kind. They however recommended, not only to initiates, but to young priests and officers of the second order, not to affect that reserv'd air, which serves only to excite in others a useless curiosity, and which, in some measure, discovers the secret they are solicitous to keep. Thus they accustom'd themselves to a certain affability, which did not give room to the greater part of mankind to suspect they knew more than they said.

THEY then open'd to Sethos the subterraneous passages, which extended in a square from the sanctuary of the temple to the pyramid; that is, in length and breadth, about four thousand paces, and which consequently corresponded with the superiour temples of some little towns dependant on Memphis. But, according to custom, they gave him, as a guide, the last admitted Egyptian initiate, who happen'd to be in the house; because, in fact, the priests, who were in a measure reserv'd even to initiates, suffer'd them barely to see, but did not explain to them, till after a considerable time, the ceremonies or secret transactions they had seen. But the

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initiate, who conducted him, was allow'd to communicate his conjectures, which generally did not go far.

I MIGHT here properly enough make an invocation like that of poets, who undertake to give a description of hell. That I may be allow'd to reveal those things which I have learnt, and to bring to light what has been done in the bowels of the earth, and under the impenetrable veil of a profound silence. Sethos was no sooner descended into these subterraneous mansions from the superiour temple, than he was extremely astonish'd to hear the cries of children. Orpheus, who was as much surpriz'd at it as he, since feign'd, That those children that dy'd at the breast, were plac'd at the entrance into hell. But these were the children of the priests, whose mothers were always sent to lie-in in the apartments which were there prepar'd for them. The reason of this practice was, to accustom the constitutions of these children, from the very moment of their birth, to these subterraneous habitations, in which they were to pass a great part of their life. And besides, they would not suffer any sort of noise or disturbance, nor even any paternal frailty to interrupt the priests in their meditations and studies; and they were taught to look upon their children from that instant, as appertaining to the sacerdotal college, and not to them.

them. Hence it was Lycurgus took his plan and motive for the publick education of the Spartans. The Egyptian priestesses suckled their children themselves, if the state of their health allow'd it; or else the wives of the officers of the second order serv'd them for nurses. These apartments the initiate only saw at the door, and for an instant. The priests, who were physicians, were alone permitted to go in, and they directed the oeconomy of them. The women and children were treated with a great deal of indulgence; for tho' the latter were destin'd to employs, some of which were very laborious, the Egyptians believ'd nature must be left to fortify itself, before they exacted any thing from it: but at the age of five years, these children went into the common halls, design'd for the most early instruction of youth, where they had masters who taught them to read and to write the vulgar or prophane letters*. They frequented these halls three years; from whence, however, they return'd every noon and evening to their mothers. Till then, the children of both sexes and orders had their education together, were kept within sight, and even watch'd in the night-time. But at eight years, they were separated according to the two orders; the first of which was, of those who by birth were allotted to the exer-

* Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5.

cises of the mind; and the other of those whose business was the work of their hands. The males were likewise separated from the females, and the sons of the priests one from the other, according to the different studies they were to follow, with a view to the different functions and professions of the sacerdotal families. These differences form'd however but four classes or schools: 1. Sacred or hieroglyphick literature, for those who were to succeed the priests employ'd in publick and private instructions on religion and morality. 2. Jurisprudence; from whence were taken those priests who were counsellors and judges in the cities. 3. Experimental physick, where the priests, who were to practise physick, had their education. And 4. Mathematicks, for those who were to profess any part of them. From that time they were likewise distinguish'd, both boys and girls, by their robes of four different colours, such as the priests wore under their tunicks of fine linnen in the publick exercises of their separate professions, or in the Isiack pomps and processions. These four colours were black for the first class; red for the second; violet for the third, and blue for the fourth. The education of these children was in general very rigid, because they were ty'd down to an extreme regularity, and were to be brought up to the highest perfection. But their masters, who themselves were supervis'd by attentive

tentive superiors, were never more severe one than the other; and the young disciples, knowing upon what principles their founders acted, did not think themselves unhappy.

BESIDES this, there was every day, about noon, a publick school, which they call'd, The School of Language. Even the daughters of the priests, who were kept in a subterranean apartment till the age of sixteen, under the government of the eldest and wisest of the priestesses, frequented these schools. There it was they were taught the rudiments and pronunciation, both simple and declamatory, of the Egyptian tongue. Advancing from year to year, they went thro' every species of eloquence and poetry; and they made the application of them either in the composition of history, or the expounding of the several duties of life, or the description of the human passions. The studies of these young persons were farther diversify'd by their sacred exercises to which they were accusom'd, and in which they were employ'd from that time; the boys alone in the superior temple, and both the boys and girls in the subterraneous; but preferable to every study: those who had a disposition to it, were kept close to musick, even tho' they neglected other exercises for which they had less inclination. It won't be amiss to observe in general, that in consideration of the great numbers of

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ceremonial or œconomical functions in which the priests were to be employ'd, they oblig'd none to persevere in the sciences but those who were proper for them ; and that these were also afterwards more frequently than others dispens'd from their usual assiduities or exterior attendances.

THE period of every one of these schools was of ten years, and they had each ten professors, who succeeded one another, to receive every year those new scholars which were presented, whilst the others prosecuted and finish'd their course. The new initiate spent the first time a quarter of an hour in every one of these schools. They were always very full, because they were only kept in the twelve antient temples, and the priests of the towns dependant upon them, were oblig'd to send their children to the chief temple, that their education might be uniform. But we are not to believe that they were all sent back again to the towns from whence they came, as all the children born at Memphis had not therefore their establishment there. The high-priest and his counsel, wholly attentive to the reputation of the priesthood, plac'd them according to their talents, with a view to the different importance of the temples they were to officiate in, and they were chang'd as occasion requir'd. Memphis had the choice of the whole sacerdotal nome for religion

religion and the sciences ; but by the subterraneous communication, a whole nome was in some manner but one single house.

HOWEVER, after the age of nine years all the children began, at times, to frequent the upper house, to accustom themselves to the exterior air ; on condition, however, that their mothers never suffer'd them to be seen in their apartments by any women from without, because they were not yet bound by the oath of secrecy, and provided there was no candidate in the house ; for in this case they only came thither to assist at the sacrifices in the sanctuary. This had more than once surpriz'd Sethos, who, during the time of his preparation, saw these children go and come, but could not guess whence they came, or whither they return'd. To conclude, at the age of eighteen the priests marry'd them to their daughters of sixteen, as they judg'd most convenient ; and after taking the oath of secrecy, to which their wives were likewise bound, they were added to the sacerdotal college, and were lodg'd in the superiour houses ; being however oblig'd to officiate in their turns in the subterranean : And then, though they were always oblig'd to follow the destiny of their family, and particularly, never to appear abroad but upon that footing ; they were allow'd to study in private the other sciences,
being

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being perswaded that they were all dependant upon one another in some parts, and that there was no possessing any, without having some small tincture of several others. They never spoke, however, publickly, nor even to candidates; nor did they go to court or appear in the world till seven years afterwards; and till they had receiv'd all the instructions necessary to behave themselves in such manner as might be an honour to their body; provided even then, that their superiors judg'd them persons to be confided in.

THE officers of the second order, of whom we must now speak, form'd, with their wives, a numerous body of subaltern ministers, for the ceremonies of religion; domesticks for the priests or priestesses in the superior dwellings, or for their children in the subterraneous; and lastly, of workmen of every kind for their persons, houses and temples. As no stranger came in among them, the inward reparations and ornaments could be made by none but these officers, and the priests wore nothing about them that was the work of prophane hands. The priestesses were always distinguish'd from other women by a tunick of fine linnen, which they wore upon a robe of the colour which shew'd the class their husbands belong'd to. But as they wore above the tunick a mantle of silk of what colour they pleas'd, embroider'd

embroider'd with gold, and dress'd their heads to their own mind, they were as magnificent as the Roman vestals have since been, without ever borrowing any thing from without. These workmen partaking of the same principles as their masters, were generally much more ingenious than those who work'd for the publick. But as they never wrought for any without-doors, their works serv'd as models, and excited emulation, without being the objects of envy and jealousy. All the menachick arts, rang'd in order in these subterraneous habitations, form'd a long series of curiosities ; which Sethos being then oblig'd to take but a slight view of, pleas'd himself with resolving to review again frequently. This subterranean city, which made two thirds of the whole square, had several streets, some larger, some less ; and even squares, all equally illuminated with lamps. Since the first construction of these dwellings, they had contriv'd to pierce holes in several places quite thro' to the surface of the earth ; not, indeed, for the sake of light, for it wou'd never have been sufficient, but to receive a wholesome air into habitations fram'd by the priests, which the first founders never thought of. These openings, which all answer'd to some of the squares underneath, terminated at top in the form of a well, in the court-yards or gardens of sacerdotal houses ; some of which had never been built

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built but for that purpose: and they found them, in course of time, very convenient to let down provisions, and to draw up the most unwieldy of their works. There were likewise, for the convenience of men, round about the inward walls, several rows of steps like unto those we have describ'd in the well of the pyramid: but towards the west, the depth was so great, that they could discern the stars at noon-day, and even some of the planets in their greatest northern latitude. And the priests soon took advantage of this appearance, to observe at different hours the motions of the stars and planets to the meridian, through the narrow cleft of the lids which they sometimes caus'd to be put over these wells.

As the new initiate employ'd several days in taking this view, he came out to take his meals and his repose, in some of the superior houses which lay most conveniently in his way. The guide had them all given him in writing; and those whom he met, directed them in every place what they had to do.

SETHOS came the fourth day to that place call'd, The Field of Tears (*Lugentes campi.*) It was an oblong, of the breadth of three acres, and the length of nine, encompass'd by four walks, in which terminated several other of the subterranean passages, and was cover'd

cover'd by a very high vault. Here the officers of the second order were punish'd for any crimes committed, according to sentence given by three priests; and by different chastisements in proportion to the heinousness of them. The most common crimes, which were for having certain number of times fail'd in the punctual observance of their different employs, were punish'd by hard and unprofitable labour for a certain number of days or hours. The men, for example, one or more together, roll'd a cylinder of stone, bigger or less, according to their number, up a sort of hill rais'd across the eastern end of the field; and the cylinder rolling down on the other side, they rais'd it to the top again in the same manner till it roll'd back again to the same place from whence it came, and there they begun again. The women drew water from deep wells, to pour it into a canal of flowing water drawn from the canal of the initiation; and which, after having travers'd the chief of the subterraneous walks, border'd the east end of the Field of Tears. Here is easy to discover the origin of the rock of Sisyphus, and of the vessels of the Danaïdes in Orpheus. These men and women were naked to their girdle; but it was their own fault if they receiv'd any corporal punishment: and Sethos was very well pleas'd to find the overseers employ'd in moderating the eagerness of those who were undergoing their penitence.

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tence. But faults more heinous were attended with pains really afflicting. Tho' the priests and priestesses were liable to certain kinds of punishments, they were entirely hidden from the eyes of initiates, to preserve the honour of the priesthood; and from the secondary officers, to keep them within the bounds of that respect due to their superiors. This caution was never dispens'd with but in crimes of a scandalous nature, that had disturb'd the order of their house, or were publicly known. For such, they were condemn'd to one or more years of silence, which they were oblig'd to pass under-ground. Sethos saw several priests and priestesses, cloath'd in black, divested of the sacerdotal tunic, walking round the Field of Tears, and hiding their faces; or going into the prison which was on the side of it. There every one had his cell; but they had no conversation but with books, which were not refus'd them. To conclude; in case of violation of the secret, priests, initiates, and secondary officers were condemn'd to a punishment full of horror in its nature, tho' it might be short enough. It was to rip up their bosoms and tear out their hearts; which were given to be devour'd by birds of prey. It was even forbidden the prophane to ask questions of any one whomsoever concerning the secrets of the priesthood; and if by an extraordinary accident they did surprize any, they were under penalty of death, ty'd down to

to the same secrecy as the priests themselves. But whole ages hardly furnish'd such an example; and it was only upon the idea they gave Orpheus of the punishment of a revealer of their secrets, that he invented that of Prometheus and Tityus: but he took the giantick length, which he gave to the body of Tityus in his fable, who, according to him, being stretch'd out at length on the ground, cover'd nine acres, from the real length of this field.

SETHOS advancing yet farther, came to an enchanted place call'd, *The Elysian Fields*. Here we must represent to ourselves a garden of about three quarters of a league in length from north to south, according to the situation of the pyramids, and of eight hundred paces broad from east to west. This breadth began the last third of the whole square, reckoning from the superior temple. Eight large parallel walks, which travers'd at equal distances the whole subterranean city, led to these Elysian fields, and began in some measure the garden, because they were adorn'd on both sides with great vases of flowers or fragrant shrubs. The priests, to embellish their Elysian fields, had employ'd whatever human invention, rais'd upon poetick ideas, could imagine. The light came from above to the whole extent of its superficies: but as it fell to the bottom from the height of one hundred and

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and forty feet, it was something weaken'd; and the shadows of the trees, with which this garden was fill'd, weakening it yet more, at full day it seem'd but to enjoy the light of the moon. This situation has, perhaps, given some room for a description of the garden of the Hesperides, so as we read it in Scylax, the geographer. Those minds which have experimented great passions, know how far a light thus allay'd, is proper for gentle dreams. This it was that put Orpheus on giving the Elysian fields a peculiar sun and stars, tho' they had no other light but from the sun and stars of our world. This immense opening was bounded at top, as the other, in an enclosure intirely wall'd round, which belong'd to the priests. The walls of these Elysian fields, which terminated on the south side in an oval, and were cut off in a strait line by a stately edifice on the north, seem'd to support the heavens on the entablature on the top of them. The oval end appear'd to be a prodigious water-work, which to the eye, deceiv'd by the height and distance of the object, seem'd to proceed out of the clouds; and which, after having form'd several large canals, was lost, like all the waters of these subterranean mansions, in the bowels of the earth: but besides all this, hidden pipes furnish'd water playing out in fountains in the midst of an infinite number of basons. This whole garden was divided into walks,
groves,

groves, and labyrinths, adorn'd with excellent statues and fine groupes of brass, marble and porphyry. The beds of the parterre were long chests set into the ground, and fill'd with earth brought thither, in which grew not only the most beautiful flowers, but other ornamental plants, as myrtles, laurels, and orange-trees. In the middle of this whole spot of ground were mark'd out large spaces, which serv'd as areas or circus's for divers exercises of the body ; where not only the secondary officers, in several of whose functions a great activity was requir'd ; but the children of the priests, both boys and girls, agreeable to their sex, were train'd up in them. Their first view in this, was to form and render the body active in general, as with other Egyptians. The fruits of this care was to draw a great number of people into their temples, by the exactitude and gracefulness with which they perform'd the numerous ceremonies of their religion. And in the common occurrences of life, tho' the priests and priestesses were more reserv'd, and had more modesty in their behaviour than worldly people, there was observ'd a grace and an easiness in their posture and carriage, which the knowing often took for a model.

BUT they had a reason of much greater importance to them, to make their children expert in all those exercises which have since

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compos'd

compos'd the art of serious representations among the Greeks and Romans. It was by means of theatrical scenes, that the priests of the principal temples of Egypt, and especially those of Heliopolis and Memphis, answer'd those questions which were propos'd to them concerning future and hidden things*. They look'd upon this manner of answering as less hazardous for them than the decisive oracles of Buto, or the astrological predictions of Thebes, and capable at the same time of causing more surprize in those who consulted them, and who fancy'd they saw the very thing in question. The greater part of the enchantments, related in fabulous history, were only such plays. These representations were perform'd at Memphis, in that building which form'd the northern extremity of the Elysian fields; and which, to attract the greater veneration, had the frontispiece of a temple. The priests of the first class, or those who apply'd themselves to sacred literature, presided over these plays, and their children were train'd up to them; tho' among the other classes, they took both priests and priestesses who seem'd to have the greatest talent for these exercises, and

* The grounds of all this may be seen in the 11th chapter of Meursius's *Eleusinia*. M. l'Abbe Banier likewise gives an explication of the enchantments practis'd in the temples of the antients, which comes up to this: *Orig. des fables*, tom. 3. p. 168.

they

they employ'd both men and women of the second order to serve at them. The priests, who were mathematicians, put in practice whatever experience had taught them in the mechanicks, for the probability of the material shew, and the motion of the machines introduc'd therein. The opticks were in every part observ'd with such nicety, that the senses were faithful while they gave false ideas ; and the objects themselves could not have appear'd otherwise than their images seem'd to do, in the perspective of their theatre. We must likewise allow, that as they had no occasion for an entire amphitheatre, they plac'd the person, or few persons, they were to answer to at each time, in such a point of view as was an infallible illusion to their sight.

BUT all this was nothing in comparison to the measures which the knowledge they had of the dispositions of the soul and body enabled them to take, to prepare their spectators for this illusion. They made them sometimes wait whole months ; and during that time, they endeavour'd to get partly out of them, and partly by other means, those circumstances which were preliminary to the matter which gave them uneasiness ; that they might compose their verses, and prepare the decorations of their scenes accordingly. They then receiv'd those who consulted them into the

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private apartments they had in the temple : And besides the mysterious ceremonies they perform'd before them there with the gates shut, they fed them for several days together with nothing but light food and delicious liquors, in which they mix'd soporiferous potions. At last they took up a great stone towards the bottom of the temple ; and there they saw, by the favour of a gloomy and sparing light, an easy slanting passage, by which they were to descend. They were plac'd in a sort of car, which was only open before. The priest, who was chief of the divination, plac'd himself by them ; and if they were women, they were accompany'd by a priestess, who was allotted them from the beginning, as a companion and adviser. This car, compleatly mounted upon low wheels, which were hidden, and making no noise, was push'd gently from behind down the easy descent, as if it went of itself, into one of the walks we mention'd above, which, in some measure, began the Elysiac fields. The car was first set in motion, and continued in it by officers of the second order, who came, without being seen, out of doors of this subterraneous passage, and who were reliev'd by others from space to space. And thus it went on in an equal motion to the Elysiac fields, at the entrance of which they alighted.

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THO' this place serves for a daily walk to all the subterraneous inhabitants, yet when any such persons were expected, every thing was so order'd that they saw none but whom, at a distance, they took for heroes or heroins, wise men and virtuous women. The priest and priestess, who did not suffer them to be out of their sight, nam'd the chief of those whom they said had been beneficial to human society, either by their great services, or by wise instructions, or at least by good examples. They let them see at a greater distance vast crouds of those, who, tho' their virtues had been bury'd in obscurity, had not been the less punctual in the observance of them during their lives ; nor were they less rewarded for them after their death. The light fell equally upon all their faces, they were not, however, to be distinguish'd. Nearer were those who had subdued the greatest of human passions, love and anger ; and next to them, those who had only given way to chaste and lawful love ; or who had only follow'd the motives of a just anger against the wicked, for the benefit of the good, and the advantage even of the wicked themselves. All these possess'd the bottom of the Elysian fields, which was the most agreeable part. On the side of them, in the wings, were those who had done great actions, but had suffer'd them to be eclips'd by great and frequent frailties ; or who, in the

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the course of their glorious undertakings, had sometimes taken the counsels of their passions for the counsels of virtue. In another part, to conclude, were those whom love had never indeed prompted to commit a crime ; but who, by means of this passion, had been render'd supine and backward in the practice of their duty, and for ever averted from the heroick course they had begun to pursue. The same restless spirit which had tortur'd them in their life, but above all, a regret for having in this manner travers'd their fate, follow'd them even in death. In vain the women they had lov'd, represented to them how satisfy'd they ought to be with the fame they had acquir'd : they had not that serenity in their countenances, which is the effect of accomplish'd virtue, and these women turn'd aside to weep. At these sights such persons thought themselves truly transported into the habitations of the other world, and believ'd none to be really alive but the priest and priestesses who accompany'd them.

THEY were next conducted to the theatre, which they were told was the temple of divination. At their entrance, a noble stair-case presented itself to their view ; but thro' the steps they perceiv'd, as in a great cavern, flames, which arose from a canal of spirituous and sulphurous waters, which they had set on fire. This canal, tho' but narrow, by
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an effect of the opticks, seem'd to them a river of flames, of which Orpheus made his Phlegeton. Beyond the flames they saw men and women clad in skins, which fitted so close to their bodies, that they seem'd naked. Frightful figures of the Eumenides or Furies were continually scourging them: the vaults resounded with the reiterated blows, which however not giving any wounds, shew'd they met with bodies capable of sustaining eternal torments. These objects were shewn them as long as was thought proper, according to their character; and they even acquainted them with the causes of these different punishments, such as they generally might apply to themselves. They were at last brought to the front of the theatre, where the priest and priestess always seated themselves by them. There, besides the chorus's, which, with the help of proper musick, represented in as lively, and in a more affecting manner than nature itself, either people or armies, according to the subject, the actors and actresses, by means of imperceptible masks, and other secrets of the Pantomime art, counterfeited the visages and voices of those persons the consulters were concern'd for.

THO' the priests did not give answer to every thing they were consulted about with so much ceremony; and these theatrical re-

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presentations were in reality not perform'd above twice or thrice in a year ; there were, however, every day general preparations or representations of scenes invented on feign'd subjects. The children of the priests regularly attended them. The priests and priestesses who actually officiated below, and even those of the superior mansions, came thither by turns, either to act parts, or to give their advice. Initiates were likewise admitted, and heard : and as they made trials of the effects of their decorations and musick, these rehearsals or proofs of shews were finer than the most finish'd pieces in the world. The Egyptian priests and priestesses had their places assign'd them in the latter, as among the Greeks and Romans since. It was surprizing enough to hear with how much judgment they gave their opinions of them ; because even those who had receiv'd answers from them in this manner, believ'd they had seen apparitions, and not representations. I am the shorter in the description of this sacred anecdote, because we shall see an example of it at large in the last book, of which Sethos himself will be the object ; but the consultation will be at Heliopolis, where the priests, as we have before hinted, were more expert in divination than those of Memphis.

I SHAN'T, however, quit this subject without removing an objection, which may arise
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in the minds of our readers, how the priests of Memphis, so enlighten'd, and so punctual in every article of morality, could thus deceive mankind. The key to this mystery is, that they themselves were seduc'd. It was a constant maxim amongst them, that divination was inherent to the priesthood. They prepossess'd their children with this opinion from their infancy, as they themselves had in like manner receiv'd it from their fathers. Their sacrifices, fastings and scourgings, preparatory to their answers, not in the presence of those who consulted them, but amongst themselves, sufficiently evince this truth. In like manner, all the measures they took besides to get information of facts, their assiduities, as well in their closets as private conferences, to endeavour to foresee future events, by the circumstances of times, places, and persons, were in their minds but so many natural means which they thought themselves oblig'd to make use of, lest they should tempt the gods, and by their temerity draw upon the priesthood the loss of so precious a gift. With an eye to the same precaution it was, that they were more or less precise in their answers, according to the inspirations they believ'd they had receiv'd. They did not, however, attempt to conceal the secret of this practice from their initiates. On the contrary, after having acquainted them with their principle, they were glad to get light from them on several

several questions they propos'd them, as from men who had more knowledge of the world than they themselves. As for their preparatives to work those who consulted them up to an illusion, or, as they call'd it, an extasy; they had another view in them, which they look'd upon as very commendable, with respect as well to them, as to other persons to whom they might relate their adventure. It was to inspire in them a love and fear of the gods; not only by a previous view of the Elysian fields, and of Tartarus, of which they let them have a glimpse, but by the great lessons, either given them in form, or cunningly insinuated in their scenes. Indeed, in course of time, when the practice of divination pass'd into Greece, or as it remain'd in Egypt, the intention of the diviners became exceedingly deprav'd: For, not to mention the palpable cheats of real impostors, only design'd to trick men of their money, and to corrupt the virtue of the women, the priests of some temples have had recourse to magick operations and horrid sorcery, which they thought a surer method to discover hidden causes than the invocation of the gods, or human and natural enquiries. But, in short, the result of all these considerations taken together, is this, that those of our Grecians who have attributed every kind of divination to deceit, have, in this point, had but a faint knowledge of mankind, and that the
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prepossession and enthusiasm of those who pretended to this gift has had a greater part in the error of divination, and has kept it up longer than fraud alone would have been capable of. However, as both these causes give equally place to truth, which becomes more and more manifested, divination loses ground daily; and we may, without being masters of that art, foretell its approaching and entire extinction. On the side of the Elysian fields, advancing towards the pyramids, was the last part of these subterraneous mansions, or the Pantheon of the priests of Memphis: On occasion of which I shall observe, that whole Egypt was call'd, The Pantheon of the Universe. Tho' the whole extent of these subterranean habitations was in general call'd the temple, properly speaking, the pantheon alone deserv'd that name. The entrance to it was thro' several very deep arches, plac'd behind the trees on the west-side of the Elysian fields. The roof of this temple was not extremely high, exceeding only by ten feet the height of the arches, which were of twenty feet: but tho' the breadth was but of forty feet, the length was extraordinary, being equal to that of the Elysian fields, comprehending even the depth of the theatre. Less would not have been sufficient to contain all the deities of Egypt in separate chapels; nor was there a chapel allotted to every one: for the Egyptians ador'd, at least, the thirty thousand deities,
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of which Hesiod the poet tells us. The sanctuary of this temple was consecrated to Isis, the mother of nature, or nature herself. Her statue was there plac'd upon a pedestal, much the same as Apuleius, in his *Metamorphosis*, represents this goddess appearing to him in a dream. The foremost chapels on the right and on the left, contain'd each separate the image of one of the chief deities, which by the Romans, to whom Pythagoras brought them out of Egypt, were call'd *Cosentes* or *Selecti*, q. d. counsellors of Jupiter, or chosen for his counsel *.

NEXT to them came the demi-gods, call'd *Semons* or *Medioximi*, half men, or middling deities. The images of these, as many of them as were known by name, were plac'd several together in the succeeding chapels. The last chapels continu'd to the line of the frontispiece of the theatre, and were appropriated to that infinite number of unknown deities, who, according to them, had their habitations neither in heaven nor hell, but were dispers'd in the air, upon the earth, and in the waters. They were represented by general figures, or such of which one serv'd for a whole kind. These idols were plac'd in their several chapels, with their faces all turning towards the bottom of the

* See Kirk, tom. I. p. 174, 175.

temple,

temple, as that of Isis was in the sanctuary: but the bottom of the temple, from the line of the frontispiece of the theatre to the wall at the end; thro' which there was no entrance, was reserv'd for the mischievous gods, otherwise call'd evil genius's. Typhon was represented standing, leaning with his back against the wall, and of the same height; his arms stretch'd out reach'd the walls on the right hand and on the left; near in the same manner as the statue of Serapis, the Pluto of the modern Egyptians, in his temple, which we now see at Alexandria *. But Typhon had the figure of a man only from his head down to his navel; he was represented with flames proceeding out of his eyes and mouth, and from the trunk of his body two enormous dragons, which supply'd the place of thighs and legs †. His fingers were vipers, agreeable to the description which Hesiod gives of Typheus, and Apollodorus of Typhon, which were the same. From the bottom of the temple to the line of the frontispiece of the theatre were twenty chapels on each side, in which were the images of the malign genius's, which, like the figure of Typhon, fac'd the good deities, to shew their opposition to them. The walls and roof of the temple, as well as of the arches on each side, were adorn'd with hieroglyphicks, which contain'd

* See Kirk, tom. i. pag. 199.

† See his fig. in Kirk, *ibid.* pag. 221.

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the history, as well as an account of the worship, of the gods in the pantheon. Here were perform'd every night, from ten till two, several sorts of sacrifices and ceremonies; at which were present all the inhabitants of those lower mansions, even the prisoners of the Field of Tears, as well as those who had fail'd in the trials of the initiation, the priests and priestesses of the upper house, when they would, provided they did not neglect their common functions elsewhere, the greater part of the initiates, and the new initiate and his guide the three last days of the manifestation.

As these nocturnal ceremonies began before the end of the natural day, they first offer'd their devotions to those divinities to whom the day was consecrated. Most of them had their peculiar victims; and they even knew the several sorts of wood which they were to use, either to burn the victim whole, or some parts of it *. The wood was set on fire, according to the different dignities of the gods; either by the sun-beams, brought thither by means of a parabolical glass, as the sacred fire of the vestals, or by the sparks from a flint struck by a steel; or lastly, by the flames of a lamp. The Greeks

* See for this whole account, Kirk, tom. 1. Syntag. 3. cap. 9. & 10.

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and Romans adopted these niceties, and carry'd them so far as to observe the difference of fountains from whence they drew the water to extinguish the fire with which the victim was consum'd. As in Egypt they have no other water but that of the Nile, they made use of that only in their sacrifices ; but they fetch'd it every day out of the great channel of that river for the use of the pantheon. This, perhaps, gave occasion to those authors whom Diodorus follow'd, to say, that three hundred and twenty priests of Memphis brought every day water out of the Nile the distance of several furlongs.

SOME of these deities had only sacrificing priests, and others none but priestesses. But at midnight the sacrificing priest for the day, follow'd by two lines of priests, came out of the last arch towards the bottom of the temple, on the side of the Elysian fields, and went into the sanctuary to the statue of Isis. They were accompany'd by a great chorus of musick form'd by other priests, priestesses, and even their children of both sexes, and of all ages from nine years upwards. When the sacrificing priest was come to the statue, the two lines of priests stopp'd, and made room for the offering which follow'd to pass betwixt them. And here the truth of the historical fact obliges me to say, that this offering was carry'd by priests daughters, to the

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number of eighteen, two and two, naked, and having each a basket of fruit, or other presents, according to the season. These girls began this office at thirteen, and continued it till their marriage. The sacrificing priest receiv'd and emptied all these baskets upon a great square altar, on the foot of which was this inscription; which being copy'd from the Egyptian upon a marble, is yet to be seen in a temple of Capua *. *Te, tibi, una, quæ es omnia, Dea Isis.* That is, We offer thee to thyself, thou only and universal deity, goddess Isis. The maidens who brought the offering, retired behind the sanctuary, and the priests went into it, to accomplish the ceremonies, which lasted near two hours, always accompany'd with the sound of voices and instruments. These ceremonies differ'd in the four seasons, as did the hymns, which were the subject of their musick; many of which were afterwards sung in the superior temple, and from thence came into the mouth of every Egyptian, for the beauty of their verses and tunes, which were sometimes heighten'd by novelty.

THESE were the mysteries of Isis; the secrecy of which made them so respected in the flourishing ages of Egypt; and which having been reveal'd during the confusion

* See Kirk, tom. i. pag. 183.

of

of wars, and the oppression of conquerors, have serv'd as an example or pretext for that licentiousness which has since spread itself over the temples of Greece and Italy. By all the memoirs that have come to my hands it plainly appears, that the priests and assistants in antient Egypt never made an ill use of what pass'd before their eyes in the Pantheon. Orpheus has express'd the description they were ty'd down to on this head by the awfulness of the place, under the image of Tantalus standing in the midst of water, but not being able to drink. Lycurgus, carrying his ideas yet farther, suppos'd that wisdom which reign'd in Egypt throughout the whole sacerdotal order, in which no instance has been known of any disorder arising from a passion for women, was owing to their seeing them in this manner naked every day. And this it was made him establish in his republick the luctations or wrestlings at which the youth of both sexes perform'd their exercises naked in the sight of the whole world. He said, the Lacedemonian women were deck'd in the circus by the publick modesty, from what he had heard the priests in Egypt say, that theirs were deck'd in the Pantheon with religious holiness. However, a long experience has convinc'd the wise of the truth of that sentence of the old Latin poet Ennius, who says, that nakedness expos'd to the eyes of the citizens, is the original source of all

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the disorders of a republick. *Flagitii principium est nudare inter cives corpora.* A very faint knowledge of the Greek and Roman history is sufficient to give us an idea of that shameful excess to which the first communication of the mysteries of Isis discover'd, carry'd those nations. The Egyptians themselves, fallen from their pristine austerity, had introduc'd into the temples, which they were allow'd to erect out of Egypt, and especially at Rome, such an extravagant licentiousness, that the senate made several decrees to abolish those temples they call'd Memphitick. Popular superstition, supported by a habitude rooted in debauchery, had render'd these decrees of no effect, till the consul Paulus Emilius himself took an ax, and began the demolition of them. These temples were re-establish'd under the dictatorship of Sylla, and destroy'd again by the consul C. Calpurnius Pison *. The emperors, successors of Augustus, rebuilt them, or pull'd them down, according as they prov'd enemies or fathers of their country; and the vigilance of that most holy and pious prince Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who now governs the world with as much wisdom as glory, has enough to do to prevent these infamous practices from being restor'd every day in some part or other.

* See on this subject T. Liv, dec. tom. 1. 9.

SETHOS, to omit nothing, enter'd, after the sacrifice of the last day of the manifestation, thro' one of the western porches of the Pantheon into that walk, which ran along the bottoms of the pyramids; and having found the iron grates which bounded it on the northern side, he had the satisfaction of touching it on the inside, as he had done without, when he was with Amedes at the bottom of the well of the pyramid. By that, he in some manner bore testimony to himself, that he had happily accomplish'd the painful and perilous course of the initiation. He lay, however, that night, according to custom, in the subterranean mansions; while preparation was making against the next day for the magnificent procession, which they call'd, The great Isack Pomp, or, The Triumph of the Initiate.

THE evening before, six officers of the second order appear'd on horseback before the king's palace, which, as we have already said, was opposite to the temple at the other end of the square: and there they proclaim'd by sound of trumpet, that the next day a new initiate would appear. They afterwards made the same proclamation in every street of the city thro' which the procession was to pass. They did not mention the initiate's name, but they declar'd him to be an

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Egyptian. For with regard to foreign initiates, the proclamation was only made at the gate of the temple ; because the procession, which was not near so pompous, went only round it. This was always agreeable news to the kings, who believ'd they thereby gain'd a faithful servant upon all occasions. But it was yet a greater joy to the people, who look'd upon the Egyptian initiates as wise mediators between the king and them, and as powerful protectors about his person. As many years generally pass'd without their attaining so great an advantage, the rarity of it enhanced the value, and inspired every one with an earnest desire to see this ceremony. Upon this particular occasion the dispositions of the court were alter'd. They had then no suspicion there that the new initiate was Sethos. Every one thought him out of Memphis, and some even believ'd him out of Egypt : and besides, considering the corruption of manners, and meanness of sentiments in which the greater part of the courtiers were plung'd, they look'd back to the age of fables for those heroick times when kings or sons of kings were candidates for the initiation. Sesostris, who was initiated at Thebes, was the last king of Egypt, who had the ambition to aim at this dignity. And thus the queen, in imitation of those mothers who think they have taken great care of their children, when they forbid them all exercises
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that require resolution and courage, did not fail, when she heard the news, to observe to the ladies about her, that if she knew one of her sons should desire to be initiated, she would soon prevent it: and the judicious company was very much dispos'd to applaud her. As for the king, as he did not meddle with the affairs of state, and only employ'd his servants in his amusements; he was very little affected with the merit of the initiation, and propos'd to himself no other satisfaction in it, but the pleasure of seeing this pomp pass under the windows of the palace.

THE whole night was employ'd in adorning the inside of the temple with whatever the priests had most magnificent in their treasury; and the citizens of Memphis prepar'd the streets, and embellish'd the outsidcs of their houses with their most precious moveables. A little after sun-rising, the temple was open'd to the people, and in the middle of the sanctuary they saw the tabernacle of Isis, which was brought up from the subterranean temple. It was a large coffer, cover'd with a veil of white silk, embroider'd with hieroglyphicks in gold, over which was a black gauze, to signify the secret of the mysteries of the goddess. Before the procession mov'd, they offer'd a sacrifice to her; during which, the daughters of the priests, who never appear'd abroad but on

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the festivals of Isis, danc'd, by turns, grave dances to the sound of instruments alone. Immediately afterwards the march began towards the city. The six officers, who had proclaim'd the ceremony, went first, sounding their trumpets from time to time; and two lines of guards of the same order march'd on each side of the procession, the whole length of it. Of the four classes of priests, the mathematicians, the physicians, and the lawyers went first, preceded by their children in the same order, and in the same habits as themselves. All the priests wore a black robe under a tunick of fine linnen; but over the tunick, the three first classes of the procession wore robes of blue, violet or red; of which one part cover'd their heads. Between the two lines march'd, one by one, priests, whom they call'd Pastophores: instead of robes, they had cloaks of the colour of their class; and they carry'd the books of Mercury, from whence they borrow'd their sciences*.

AFTER this first part of the procession, came a priest of the first class in a black cloak, who carry'd in both hands the famous Isiack table, resting upon his breast; it was of copper, but border'd and travers'd with plates of silver, upon which were engraven

* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6:

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the emblems of the mysteries of Isis, represented by the figures of men and women, standing or sitting, and of which some had the heads of beasts *. He was follow'd by the daughters of the priests, clad in tunicks of fine linnen, over robes of the colour of their fathers clasp, and having over their tunicks a sort of scarfs, each of a different colour, embroider'd with gold, with golden tufts, and fasten'd on their left shoulders with a precious stone. They were dress'd in their hair with tufts of herons feathers, and adorn'd with ear-rings, necklaces of pearls, and bracelets of an inestimable value. They form'd four lines, and went arm by arm, two and two. The priestesses, who were governesses, went in the middle, cloath'd all in black, excepting their tunicks; and on the sides of these extraordinary beauties, which were but seldom seen, the guards were doubled. By the bare description of Apulieus, we find that even other women, who were initiated to Isis, since the devastation of Egypt, have taken the place of these damsels in such sorts of processions, at which even the other priestesses did not assist before. After these damsels, came a very great choir of musick, compos'd of priests and their children, who proclaim'd the approach of the tabernacle of Isis. It

* See Kirk. about this table; OEd. Egypt. tom. 4. pag. 80. & seq. and the Ant. of E. Montfaucon, vol. 2. part 2. page 331.

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was carry'd on the shoulders of eight priests: but immediately preceding it, went maidens of the second order, clad in habits of white woollen, very fine, and adorn'd with flowers, who having citrerns and tabors in their hands, danc'd before the tabernacle a sort of light dances; the imitation of which the Greeks have carry'd too far in their Orgies. Others of these maidens, who went on each side, burnt perfumes; the smoke of which surrounding the tabernacle, it seem'd to be always in a cloud. The high-priest walk'd alone after the tabernacle. He was cloath'd in white under his tunick; and over it with a purple robe lin'd with ermin; the train of which was carry'd by two children of the second order. He had a sort of mitre on, peculiar to him alone, and he only had the augural staff, which all other priests bore in his absence. He was follow'd by the priests of the first class, or interpreters of the sacred literature, whose books were likewise carry'd by Pastophores. Two among them carry'd a pole on their shoulders, upon which was plac'd the augural or divinitory urn; it was cover'd by an astrolable, a quadrant and a compass. For tho' astrology was more in use at Thebes than in the other temples, astronomical instruments were every where the symbols of divination. All the priests of this class were cloath'd, under and above their white tunicks, in black. The antientest
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went nearest the tabernacle. So, contrary to the order of the three first classes, they were follow'd by their children, the two lines of which were clos'd by the four prefects of education. Here, properly speaking, the Isiaick pomp ended. It was seen upon other occasions, but had never been so numerous, and so magnificent as on this.

THE last part of the procession, or the triumph of the initiate, had a military appearance, even with regard to those who were not warriors ; because it was suppos'd, that they defended their country in their way ; and besides, the initiates were indifferently of every profession for the service of the king and of the publick. At the head of the second interval, appear'd, under the sound of fifes and kettle-drums, three standards flying. The first bore the symbol of the kingdom of Memphis, which was the Ox Apis ; the second that of Egypt, which was a sphynx ; and third that of the whole world, which was a serpent, biting his tail, in the form of a circle. This was to signify the order according to which the initiate devoted himself to the service of mankind. The initiates appear'd next ; they were but few in number in every nome : and those who had any employs, either in war, or in the provinces, did not quit them to be at this ceremony. However, if there were any initiates of another

ther nome, they had their places here according to the order of their reception, for all the initiates of Egypt made but one body. They march'd one by one in their usual habits, that is, in a vest of fine linnen which reach'd but to their knees, and which they never went without ; and over their vest was the robe of their dignity or function : on the side of them, and out of the rank, went the foreign initiates, if there were any in Egypt : and thus it was that Orpheus assisted at the triumph of Sethos. According to this order it often happen'd that generals and even princes, who were younger in the initiation, gave place to mere citizens.

At last appear'd the new initiate, having at his right-hand the youngest of the priests, and at his left the eldest of the initiates. For this first day he was cloathed only in a white tunick, with a train trailing after him of the length of his body : Over it he had a shoulder-belt, white border'd with black, at which hung a sword ; the hilt of which was only of steel : instead of a girdle, he had a fire-colour'd scarf, embroider'd with gold : He had a chaplet of myrtle on his head, and in his hand he held a large branch of palm, as the symbol of peace : His head was cover'd with a white veil, which fell over his face and breast, thro' which he could see enough to walk by, but which hinder'd every body from

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from knowing him. Behind him follow'd a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses in front. Four virtues held a triumphal crown over the empty seat; and images of the vices enslav'd, border'd all the circumference of the footboard. This chariot was, excepting some symbols, like to that in which generals made their entries into the chief cities of Egypt, at their return from any signal victory. But the initiate never went into his; to shew that he did not aspire even to those exterior honours which his great actions might merit. In this ceremony the initiate had at all times been receiv'd with great acclamations of the people. But the extravagance and injustice of Daluca's administration, made the hopes of some relief of yet greater concern to all the inhabitants of Memphis. Flowers and sweet essences were scatter'd in abundance on the initiate from the windows and streets. No musick was ever so affecting as the concert of benedictions they bestow'd upon him. It was for this reason, though the joy had been less at other times, that the initiate always went veil'd; that he might apply no part of these transports of publick affection to himself, and that he might, on the contrary, suppose they were only due to the high esteem had for a body, whose examples he was hereby taught to follow, and whose glory he was encourag'd to maintain.

SETHOS,

SETHOS, after having in this manner made a circuit of a great part of the city, came to the square, in which was the king's palace. The king, the queen, and a croud of courtiers waited their coming, in a long balcony, adorn'd with rich tapestry. Osooth, who by nature was good, seem'd to take part in these rejoicings, as the acclamations proclaim'd their approach. As far as he could see the last division of this pomp, and above all, when he discover'd the head of the initiate, which was at least equal to the tallest, he felt a soft commotion, which immediately rais'd in the queen, who was an enemy to all good, a very lively jealousy: But her confusion was sensibly increas'd, when the initiate ascended a high scaffold, erected according to custom, before the balcony of the palace. Here he kneel'd down on a cushion, and made a profound reverence to the king. Then rising, he drew his sword, as offering it for his service. At this action, which the young prince perform'd with a wonderful grandeur and noble air, Osooth, almost with tears in his eyes, stoop'd, and stretch'd out his arms as to embrace this initiate. He then turn'd to the right and to the left, to inspire every one with that tender admiration with which he himself was pierc'd. The people, encourag'd by this example, vented thousands of joyful acclamations

mations address'd to the king. They wish'd him to be their master, and to continue so during a long course of life. At the same time they fix'd their eyes upon the queen in a manner, which tho' no otherwise insulting, than in their secret intentions, she however perfectly comprehended. This lady, who, in compliance to the king, was oblig'd to conceal that real rage, which gnawed her very soul, under a forc'd smile, was for a long time the object, not only of the people, but even of the courtiers, who detested her, tho' they were become her slaves. But her disorder was yet infinitely greater, when the initiate was gone down from the scaffold, and return'd to the temple, holding in one hand his naked sword, and in the other his branch of palm crossing one another. For the king took this occasion to ask the queen after his son, who, he said, had the same shape and gaite as the initiate. He added, that he wish'd it had been Sethos, and that he should think it a happiness in his old age to have a son who might deserve so great an honour. The queen, who was confirm'd in her belief of Sethos being absent, because she did not see Amedes among the initiates, inform'd the king of the journey for which Sethos and Amedes had desir'd leave three months before. The king took it ill she had not acquainted him with it. He even said, if she

she had inform'd him of it, he should not have been so long absent, but have been back again time enough to have seen a triumph which would have stirr'd up his emulation. But the hour of Oforoth's conversion was not yet come, and he had more violent shocks than that to suffer before he could be awak'd out of his lethargy; or rather, the present object, which always affected this prince, soon gave way to other impressions.

IN the mean time the initiate being enter'd into the temple, ascended a very high throne. The uppermost step was large enough to hold three or four people together. Two officers of the second order follow'd him thither, and drew two large curtains before them. While certain hymns were singing below, which explain'd, in the nature of a prophecy, those benefits which might be expected from an initiate of illustrious birth, Sethos put on his common habit over his white vest; and in about half an hour, the curtains being drawn away, discover'd him to the people, with which the temple was crowded. The acclamations were doubled at the sight of him, and the news was instantly carry'd to the king. The queen, who was present, was cast into an excess of despair, which she was oblig'd then to dissemble,
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but which will soon produce very fatal effects. In the mean time they had further information, that Sethos was to stay the remainder of the day and the ensuing night in the college of the priests; where there were to be great rejoicings on account of his reception.



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THE next morning Sethos and Amedes went to the palace to the king's levee. Osoth, in the presence of several of the grantees who were in his apartments, receiv'd his son with open arms. He thank'd Amedes for having procur'd him the advantage of the initiation; and he told the young prince, that the war which the kings of Thebes and This had but then jointly declar'd against the kingdom of Memphis, would

would soon give him an opportunity of employing his sword, which he had devoted to his service at the ceremony of the foregoing day. After a conversation which ran wholly upon general topicks, the king seeming inclin'd to be alone, Sethos retir'd. He was follow'd by the courtiers, who thought things would soon take another turn at court, and that Sethos would have a great share in the distribution of military employs.

THE queen in the mean time had form'd a new plan of politicks, which she propos'd to follow. Her chief aim, to which every thing was to be subservient, was the destruction of Sethos; and the disposition towards a war, which, 'till then, she had been disquieted at, was thought of service for the execution of her design. Among other things, she resolv'd to let the return of the king's inclination to his son take its free course, and particularly not to interrupt the general tendency of the court, and of every order of the kingdom to court the favour of Sethos. This trial lasted about a fortnight, during which time, however, she carefully kept on her side the secrets of the state, and the key of the treasures destin'd for the expence of the war. None of the officers of the army were yet named. At the expiration of this term, she pitch'd upon a moment she thought the most favourable to

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succeed in a private conference she had desir'd with the king.

My lord, said she, you have had time to make trial of the consequences which may attend the too signal marks of confidence in a king to his son, the heir to his crown, to whom a whole kingdom adheres, as their future and undoubted master. You already see the court of prince Sethos more frequented than your own; and the people, flatter'd only with the hopes of his reign, shew a more fervent affection for him, than you perhaps found in them for your own person when you first ascended the throne. It is in vain we pretend to dispute this privilege to youth, if we once suffer them to take advantage of it. But I dare affirm, that the art of government prescribes very different maxims. Witness, my lord, your royal father, who possess'd this art to a degree beyond any of his predecessors. You know in what manner the great Sesonchis behav'd with regard to you; I won't say to the age of sixteen, which is that of the prince your son, but to the age of fifty, at which your reign began. During so long a guardianship he never imparted any of his designs to you; and twice or thrice when he, at your sollicitation, suffer'd you to give proofs of your valour in war, it was barely in the character of a voluntier; and he always
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named his generals to his own mind, even for those expeditions in which you serv'd in person. In the mean time you never aspir'd, without his knowledge, to titles eminent and proper to win and seduce the people, such as is that of an initiate. I don't, however, impute to the young prince a design which is far above the reach of his age, and which shews us in him an example of an initiate of sixteen years, not to be parallell'd in our histories. The only author of this project is Amedes, a man of a dangerous virtue, who leaves no stone unturn'd to be reinstated in the ministry, in order to weaken that sovereign authority in you, which I exercise in your name. I know it is through his intrigues that the king of This, who had not before joyn'd the king of Thebes, has taken up arms against you. The latter is only induc'd to war by an ancient jealousy of the kings of Thebes against the kings of Memphis, and he makes no other demands but that of some places which he pretends belong to his frontiers. But the king of This, as brother to the late queen Nephte, and uncle to prince Sethos, presumes to concern himself with the affairs of your state. Under the colour of the chimerical designs he imputes to me, he has the assurance, at the instigation of Amedes, to demand of you, that a greater regard than hitherto be had to the young prince at Memphis, during

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your life-time. It is my duty, my lord, to inform you of these conspiracies, which are forming, as well within as out of your dominions, against your sovereign power. It is your fault if they be not stifled in their birth ; but I can't go about it effectually without your approbation.

THE king, who seem'd himself to have acquir'd a greatness of soul and a more elevated mind upon the initiation of his son, answer'd Daluca : That he approv'd her care for whatever concern'd the authority of his government : But at the bottom, added he, in the disposition the late king, my father, left the minds of his subjects, I find I have power sufficient, and all that is wanting is a due management of it for the good of my kingdom, and the security of my people. Besides, added he, the universal and constant testimony of all men, and even of all my predecessors, won't suffer me to entertain any mistrust of the initiates. Sesonchis himself, whose example you alledge, and who understood mankind better than any prince in the world, made use of Amedes, during the whole course of his reign, in the most secret and difficult occurrences, and seem'd always perfectly satisfy'd with his conduct. Amedes always declining the office of prime minister has been the only reason why I burthen'd the late queen and
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you with the weight of this office. In effect Oforoth, judging of others by himself, and only reflecting upon the cares and fatigues of the administration, did not so much as think what might be, at least for persons of a certain rank, an object of desire and ambition. You may remember, continued he, that at your entrance upon the administration I advis'd you to Amedes as an assistant, and I should advise you to it with more earnestness at this time, when the cares of an approaching war seem to me more perplexing to a person of your sex; but that I would not have Amedes be absent from my son in the first campaign he is going to make. I don't propose, however, to give my son, for his first trial, the command of my troops. On the contrary, Amedes shall make him pass thro' every degree of military service, and the prince shall begin by obeying those, over whom he will soon command. I therefore expect you give me a list of the chief officers who are to serve in this war, and especially the name of him you design for general: for it is time we go to meet the enemy. Daluca answer'd; That tho' she herself had continued to provide for the frontiers, she, as well as the whole court, had believ'd, for a fortnight past, that the king, in conjunction with Sethos, would make choice of proper commanders. But, as it was not so, she would the next morn-

ing bring him a list of the general officers for his approbation, and that then they should depart without delay.

THE queen had at that time the list about her, with a design of shewing it to the king at the conclusion of this conference. But this prince had by his answers put her so far besides her measures, and seem'd so little sensible of the fears she thought to surprize him with, and so easy with regard to those she intended to render suspected, that she had not the courage at that time to offer him a list of men according to the humour of her new-modell'd court, and consequently without virtue or merit. The old officers, who were yet living, were not indeed remov'd, but all the vacancies were fill'd up with young men, who were the most devoted to those ladies who had taken them off from their military exercises, or at least who had made them return, as soon as it was in their power, from those expeditions of little moment, which had offer'd since Daluca's administration. The general she had nominated was a man of thirty years of age, more fitting to distinguish himself in war by his pride and presumption, than by his prudence and valour. Full of ambition, which wanted virtue for its support, he sought more the envy than the esteem of other men, and being a slave to Daluca, set

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as great a value upon her spirit of intrigue, as her quality of a queen. The difficulty was to make him acceptable to the king in the new circumstance of the change which seem'd to appear in him, and above all of the concern he had to take to place his son in an army made up of good troops and experienc'd commanders. However, she was under an absolute necessity of having a general of this character to impart her designs to : She employ'd the night following to fortify herself with resolution and assurance to employ her utmost influence to get this general confirm'd. She knew very well, that by this choice she put the affairs of the kingdom in some danger : but she argu'd within herself, that being rid of Sethos, and remaining mother to the second successor to the throne, every thing would turn in her favour.

THE next morning she accosted the king with her table-book in her hand : My lord, said she, I have taken care to preserve those officers who have gain'd the greatest reputation in the service of the late king your father, in their several stations. You may, perhaps, think the general I have nam'd something young ; but, not to mention his other qualities, what I esteem the most in him, and what the late king sought the most in all his generals, is his assiduous and

constant dependance upon the orders of the court. You, my lord, without stirring out of your closet, ought to be, like the great Sesonchis, the real and only commander of your armies. Your officers of war have no other interest but to give proofs of their valour, and to obtain testimonies of their zeal and service: but you alone know how far your army is to be hazarded, and your enemy to be pursued. I therefore think it my duty to propose a general to you who will be led by your views, and who has no other motives than those you shall give him. If this caution be at all times necessary, it is by so much the more so in a war to which you send a son, whose preservation is, without doubt, your chief care. In my opinion, those men are not to be entrusted with youth, who by being accustom'd to danger, are not apprehensive of it, who take no counsel but of their valour, and wait for no order but opportunity. The king, being become somewhat haughty with regard to Daluca, interrupted her, by saying, that with such a preamble she might recommend to him the meanest soldier in the army. That in the mean time he knew that experience, valour, and sometimes even the temerity of a general was the real security of an army. But to conclude, added he, let us see the choice you have made. The king, as soon as he had cast his eyes upon the

the name of this person, who was called Thoris, said to the queen ; Madam, I am very apprehensive that the zeal of my ancient officers will very much abate, when they find themselves oblig'd to serve under a general yet more inferior to the greater part of them in birth and merit, than in age. But it is at your risque he is going to the field. I give up this first campaign, which, in my judgment, will hardly be decisive, to your ministry. The success will shew you whether your ease and happiness depend upon your own counsels and administration ; or whether you ought not to put as well your own interest, as that of the state, into other hands. As for my son, he shall have no other commander but Amedes, who himself shall have none ; and they shall join such bodies of troops as they shall chuse, on such occasions, and for the time they shall judge expedient.

OSOROTH had hitherto experienc'd only such wars as were without danger, and tended only to enlarge or lessen the frontiers a few leagues, and which, never shaking the fate of a kingdom, seem only carry'd on to keep the officers and soldiers in action. So he thought he might very well entrust the queen with the management of this, and that he had sufficiently provided for the safety of his son, by exempting him from
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the commands of a general he had no good opinion of. He thereby fell into the error of those who don't prevent distant evils, imagining that they know the just extent of them, and can set bounds to them at will. The queen therefore, finding she had the power, at least once more, to pursue her own measures, made this her indiscreet choice publick. All well-wishers to the state were uneasy at it; but it was an alleviation to their sorrow, when they foresaw, that, at the expence of some battalions or forts, bad success, more powerful than men, or even princes, would necessarily bring on Daluca's fall.

THE new general, notwithstanding the troops march'd with all possible diligence, had time to make the streets and houses of Memphis ring with his pride and joy. His litter, borne by slaves in accoutrements of war, carry'd an air of triumph; he stil'd himself a Hero; and he told every one in express terms, that the dignity conferr'd on him did not so much affect him, as the obliging manner in which it was done. The queen, indeed, that he might be the more sensible of the value of his employ, had not at first given him the uneasiness she herself had gone thro', when she propos'd him to the king. But the evening before his departure she took him in private, and told him

him what repugnance the king had shewn on his account. He talk'd of you, said she, as if he had been inspir'd by Amedes, Sethos, and the whole body of the initiates. Their principles are so differing from ours, that we ought not to wonder if they are our enemies, as we are theirs. My influence, however, has obtain'd your nomination, but you are not to suppose it so advantageous as it seem'd to be when I first laid the design. That was in the absence of Sethos, when there was some appearance, that he, seeing me queen with an unbounded authority, and fearing that his younger brothers were preferr'd to him in his father's favour, had chosen to retreat out of Egypt, or was gone in search of adventures in foreign countries. Then you would have had the command of armies for your life, and my eldest son, who is but seven years of age, educated in my sight, and with my views, would have confirm'd you in that command during the whole course of his reign. The case is now very different. I don't mean because the king has exempted Sethos and Amedes from your command, and left them the choice of what troops they shall think fit to join with, and of the enterprizes they shall judge expedient to engage in. This exemption is at least so far to your advantage, that you are not answerable for the hazards they will expose themselves

selves to. But what I plainly perceive to your disadvantage, is, that immediately after the trial of this first campaign, the king will give the command of his troops to prince Sethos. If this should happen, you will necessarily, by reason of your age, be degraded to the meanest posts in the army, from which I have with pleasure rais'd you. Don't so much as hope that I will employ my credit for your support. As soon as Sethos is at the head of the army, I shall disengage myself from a ministry divided in itself. The loss won't be great to me : I shall remain queen, and the mother of two of the king's children ; but I lament the lot of those whose fortune is dependant on mine, and whom, however, I shall then strictly resolve to abandon.

THORIS, after having been a while silent, said, Madam, what you do me the honour to tell me, opens my eyes. Your goodness in concerning yourself for my interest, teaches me, that it is my duty to be thoughtful of yours, which is inseparable from that of the state. Your administration has restor'd it to all the glory it shone with under the great Sesonchis ; and it shall be a law to me to undertake whatever can secure to you that authority you are so just in the administration of. In vain our two greatest enemies are exempt from the general command
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of the army. If a profound reflection can furnish any expedient ; if a continual attention can enable me to lay hold of some of those opportunities, the seeming hazard of which will remove all suspicion, I hope to make myself worthy of your choice. The good or bad disposal of things, a victory or the loss of a battle, the obedience or disobedience of your particular commands, may be of equal service to you. Say no more, reply'd the queen, remember only, that, in bold enterprizes, delay is generally more dangerous than a ready execution ; and go with me to take leave of the king this instant. The king, at the first sight of this officer, only turning his head towards him, inform'd him, that he had exempted his son and Amedes from the command he was going to exercise over his troops. He added, that it was the queen who employ'd him, and that he wish'd he might answer the choice she had made of him. After which, continuing his discourse to the ancient officers who were about him, he told them, that after this campaign they would have the pleasure of serving under his son only. Upon this cold reception, the queen retiring into her closet, order'd Thoris to follow her, as if to give him his last instructions. There, laying aside all disguise in their discourse, they form'd the black design, which the approaching campaign was to furnish
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the means to, and at the same time to conceal.

THE general rendezvous for the troops was in the neighbourhood of Coptos, a conquest of the late king's, which the enemy then threaten'd with a siege. This city was actually in the ancient division of the kings of Thebes. It was even become, by their care and labours, one of the greatest trading cities of Egypt. For they had caus'd a great road to be made, with inns at proper distances, from Coptos, cross the sands of the Egyptian Arabia, to that maritime city of the Arabian gulph, to which Ptolemy Philadelphus, after having embellish'd it, gave the name of his mother Berenice. From Memphis to Thebes, a distance of above one hundred leagues, there were an hundred stages or stables, of which Diodorus makes mention, each for two hundred horses, to dispatch the king's orders, and likewise for the convenience of travellers. But the temples, palaces, sepulchres of all sorts, colossal statues and obelisks, which appear'd to view, upon leaving the Panopolitan Nome to enter the Coptite, were of themselves sufficient evidences, that the latter, of which Coptos was the capital, had time out of mind been a province of the Dynasty of Thebes. As magnificent as all the kings of Egypt had been in the publick monuments

ments they had erected in different parts of their kingdoms ; none of all the other kings, not excepting even those of Memphis, had near come up to the kings of Thebes in this regard. The great number of quarries, of stones, marble, and porphyry, of which the Upper Egypt is full towards the south, had furnish'd them with materials, and their immense riches had enabled them to make use of them. The nearer Thebes, the more numerous were these surprizing objects ; which form'd on every side of this famous capital, since call'd Diospolis, avenues so stately, tho' seen at a great distance, that many have confounded them with the city itself. Thence it was that some have reckon'd Thebes four hundred and twenty furlongs, or seventeen leagues and an half long*, while others reckon but fourscore furlongs, or three leagues and one third †, which was the real length of the city, properly so call'd. From this same confusion other authors have said, that that part of Thebes, which was built on the east of the river, was extended very far on that side into the Egyptian Arabia, continued on the west of the river by the division of the Memnonium, and stretch'd towards the south to Syena under the tropick, which is near at forty leagues distance. This it was, in short,

* Cato, apud Stephanum.

† Strabo l. 17.

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that made Homer call Thebes, the city with a hundred gates ; a determin'd number which only signifies a great many, as Diodorus remarks. Another error into which the real bigness of this city has made some Greek authors fall, and which has more regard to our present subject, a war between Thebes and Memphis, is the number of fighting men Thebes could send into the field. They have been made to amount to a million *. But this number denotes either the inhabitants of Thebes, comprehending even the women ; or the body of all the soldiers of the whole kingdom, their sons included. We find in some memoirs which were known to Pliny †, that the king could range three hundred thousand men in the subterraneous passages of Thebes, which belong'd to him, not to mention those appertaining to the priests, and march them out of the city without the knowledge of the citizens. That was, without doubt, the state of the militia of Thebes alone. Memphis, who reign'd there at the time we are now speaking of, propos'd to invest Coptos with two hundred thousand men, and to have another body of one hundred thousand men, under his own command, to cover the siege. But out of an air of magnificence, which the kings of Thebes, as ancient con-

* Strabo l. 17. † L. 36. tom. 2. p. 375. Ed. Hard.

querors

querors of nations, had always affected, Mephres had in his army foreign troops of western Arabians, and Troglodyte Ethiopians, which he himself had brought under his yoke ; but to whom he had left their customs and accoutrements of war.

THE queen of Memphis, on her part, having furnish'd the city with ammunition and provision, and plac'd a garrison of thirty thousand men in it, which was as many as the circumstances of the place requir'd, march'd likewise a defensive army of one hundred thousand men, commanded by Thoris. Amendes rejoic'd that there was a siege to be sustain'd in this first expedition of Sethos ; because, having resolv'd to shut himself up with him in the city, the governor of which was a man of valour, and his friend, he thereby plac'd the prince out of the reach of his secret enemies. Before they left Memphis he advis'd him to put the casket, which the late queen, his mother, had given him at her death, into the hands of the priests ; because the fate of man, especially when going to war, being uncertain, he would at least be sure, if he return'd, and whenever he return'd, of finding this resource, or the priests would employ the treasures of it in such a manner as he should direct them, in whatever part of the world he might be. This being done, Sethos departed

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parted with his governor three or four days after Thoris. But as Amedes would not extend the privilege of the young prince beyond the bounds the king had set, he carefully avoided whatever might have the appearance of a command. So Sethos was accompany'd only by Amedes, and the eight young lords his companions, who had desir'd leave to serve with him as volunteers. They had each their slave. Sethos had one whose name was Asares, an Arabian by birth, as almost all those of his condition are, who, in the sequel of this history, has a very singular part to act. He was of the same age as the prince, and being of a very sprightly genius, had taken advantage of the exercises both of the body and mind, which were enjoin'd his master in the course of his education. Having seen the benefits of virtue, he had resolv'd to take upon him at least the appearance of it, and even to pursue it, if it could lead him to that pitch of fortune which was his true aim. The queen had for some time before made attempts to corrupt him : but, seeming not to understand her, he had imbib'd a maxim, that if he must be a traitor, it ought to be for his own interest, and not for that of others. Our volunteers enter'd into Coptos above a month before the enemy was in a condition to form any attack.

SETHOS

SETHOS was receiv'd by the inhabitants with an extreme joy, and he soon perceiv'd they were better pleas'd to be under the government of Memphis than that of Thebes, under which they were very fearful of returning. This fear had no regard to the kings, but to the priests, whom the kings of Thebes generally allow'd too great an authority over the people, which they abus'd by exercising a very troublesome inspection in the inmost recesses of families, and, under the pretext of honouring or appeasing the gods, burthening them with customs not only strict but severe, which made their own religion insupportable. Amedes took this opportunity of saying to Sethos : My lord, by your title of initiate you are hereafter above my instruction. But the uneasiness you observe in the inhabitants of Coptos, the subject of which you know, emboldens me to offer you yet an advice of importance, which was not proper for me to give you at another age, nor natural for you to receive from the mouth of the priests. All the morality, and all the virtue of a king consists in a just combination of piety towards the gods, and goodness to his subjects ; so that his piety towards the gods is blind, when it is hurtful to human society ; as his goodness to his people is pernicious, when it countenances in them an oblivion

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of the gods and their worship. According to this principle, it will not suffice that you are a religious man, you must likewise be a statesman. By uniting these two qualities it is, that giving a reasonable authority to those who are to keep up good manners and the exercise of religion in your kingdom, you will prevent their destroying liberty, quiet, and particularly the publick diversions. These diversions, kept within the bounds of decency, prevent real disorders in the people they engage, and being turn'd as much as possible to a moral advantage, they even keep up politeness, and all the civil virtues in the minds of the populace. A virtuous and wise prince winks sometimes at things in the publick which he won't allow in himself. But moreover, it is good to know, that as the justice of the gods is not the justice of men; that is, that as the gods, tho' infinitely just, do certain things which men could not do without injustice, so the virtue of a statesman, which ought to be greater than that of private persons, must not always be limited by that of private persons. Devotion, I say, even the least enlighten'd, is in this advantageous, that it keeps up a spirit of good manners in the people: but it must be govern'd, and never suffer'd to have the rule itself. It is allowable, and even praise-worthy to act with regard to ourselves upon principles

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of devotion, but with other men we ought never to act but by reason. Thus a prince ought, above all things, to avoid making his courtiers believe, that devotion will make them acceptable to him ; because, instead of bringing them to this inward sentiment, which is not to be inspir'd, he leads them into hypocrisy, and thereby renders them more impious and wicked than they were before. A prince ought to go further, and prevent whatever may disturb the publick tranquillity under the pretence of devotion. Men full of a blind and scrupulous zeal, on whom no passion has more dominion than that of guiding others, ought themselves to be carefully watch'd by their prince ; that after having troubled the minds of those of his weaker subjects who give ear to them, they don't attempt to disturb common order among those who are not inclin'd to hear them. Don't confound this sort of men with hypocrites, but look upon them as much more dangerous : for hypocrites do no more harm under the cloak of religion, than will turn to their advantage ; whereas scrupulous persons are capable, by their obstinacy, of doing harm to themselves and others. But retain above all, my lord, what I presume yet to add to this advice. As much king as you will be, you will never be preferr'd before this sort of men in the minds of the people, but as far as you

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are regular in your own conduct, and just in all your proceedings. Without this caution, these avengers of their own cause, which they take always for that of the gods, will attribute every unlucky accident, which may happen during the course of your reign, to your want of piety and justice. On the contrary, if you are irreproachable with respect to yourself, and just towards your subjects, you will make the odium of that injustice, which always accompanies the reformatations and impositions of the men I am speaking of, fall on their own head. I allow that this evil is less to be fear'd at Memphis, where, excepting in those cases in which religion is concern'd, the priests never meddle with the affairs of private persons, but when they apply to them. There are none in all Egypt who better unite their piety towards the gods with their goodness towards men : and you know how much they recommend humanity and beneficence to those who have a superiority over others. The initiates of Thebes, tho' full of honour and courage, have always been more rigid in victories, and less forbearing in their vengeance than those of Memphis. In a word, the priests of Thebes establish religion by severity, and those of Memphis by indulgence. By this the latter have made themselves famous and respected throughout the whole world ; while the others, by their characters,

characters, can be agreeable but to very few; and do likewise much less good in their generation. Tho' religion is not dependant upon kings, and they ought not so much as to concern themselves with it, they have a great share in the exterior rites of it; and the tranquillity of their subjects is always their care. The kings of Thebes, who have not pursued these maxims, have suffer'd a power to devolve upon the priests, which has often been of great prejudice to the state, and which even to this day is vexatious to themselves. Not to mention the general alienation in the minds of men, occasion'd by the severity of their priests, an example of which you see here in Coptos; their history relates, that the ancient Amosis, an initiate of Thebes, the same who had the glory of abolishing human victims throughout all Egypt, gave so much liberty to the superstitious zeal of the Theban priests, that they drove out of the capital only, fourscore thousand persons, who could no longer bear up under the insupportable burden of ceremonies, which they impos'd upon them. Even to this day, now they are much milder, they take upon them to go at will into the most private apartments of the palace: and whereas in other dynasties, the priests make use of this privilege but as favourites, at Thebes they do it as inspectors; and the king has only the

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chamber of his nuptial bed, and that where the council of state assembles, free from them.

HOWEVER, to quit this moralizing, which may begin to be tedious to you, I have already been thinking, my lord, to let you take advantage of this prerogative of the Theban priests for another use. Kings and princes can't always travel with safety in foreign countries: but as an Egyptian initiate, all the priests of Egypt are oblig'd, at your first demand, to shew you all the curiosities of their sacerdotal Nome. They alone have the keys of this great number of publick monuments, which are tombs. They can go almost every where, from one to the other, by subterraneous communications, tho' at several leagues distance. With the priests of Thebes you may go as far as Syena and the Lesser Cataract. You may visit as much as you please of the kingdom, and enter even into the king's palace, without either he, or any of his officers, knowing that you are in his dominions. The people of Coptos themselves will only believe you to be in the temple of Isis, which is beyond the morass that defends one of its gates, and by which you will begin your private excursion. It is true, you won't pass thro' the streets or publick squares, nor will you see hardly any thing of the cities
and

and the buildings which are in and about them, but what you may discover from the tops of the temples, or the windows of the sacerdotial colleges. It is likewise true, that in this journey you will gain no knowledge for the service of the state ; for besides the rigid silence the priests will observe with you on this head, agreeable to the laws of justice and honour, they will bind you by an oath never to make use, as an enemy, of what you will see as an initiate. However, as whole years would hardly be sufficient to observe all these wonderful works, and as in appearance the siege of Coptos will be form'd within a month ; I believe, my lord, it will be proper for you to confine yourself to a slight view of the Memnonium of Thebes, the city of Syena, and the neighbouring Cataract, which is the most remarkable ; contenting yourself this time with what you may take a cursory view of in your passage, and with the answers the priests will give to your questions. I make your journey of mere curiosity by so much the shorter, as I extremely desire you may view the observatory of Thebes at your leisure, and have an opportunity of discoursing upon the subject of astronomy with the priests there, who, beyond dispute, exceed the whole world in that science. To this end I have already recommended you to two of the most noted priests, with whom
I have

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I have had a friendly correspondence since I last resided in Thebes; they will continually attend you. But I believe in your absence, which they have fix'd to three weeks, it will be proper for me to supply your room in Coptos, that I may answer the king, your father, when he may desire to hear concerning you. During this time I will observe with assiduity, as well the interior and exterior of the place, as the preparations for the siege, that, at your return, I may with greater ease make you thoroughly acquainted with the actions we can enter upon when the attacks are form'd.

SETHOS answer'd Amedes, that tho' he could gladly have had him as a companion, and even as a counsellor, on this journey, yet he approv'd of his wisdom in the measures he had taken. That he was therefore ready to depart that very hour, to be surer of returning before the siege began. Amedes led the prince immediately to the sacerdotal college of Coptos. There he confided him to the care of the two priests, who convey'd him to the temple of Isis in one of their own boats, which, as all other conveniences of the priests for travelling either by water or land in Egypt, was free, even in time of war, not only from all attacks, but from every visitation.

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As short time as Sethos employ'd in taking a slight view of the curiosities, either exterior or subterraneous, of the Theban Nome; a fear of being tedious to the reader will make me yet more concise in the description of them. Sethos being arriv'd at Thebes saw the four chief temples of the city *, the ancientest of which was a miracle for its bulk and beauty. It was thirteen furlongs, or more than half a league in circumference, seventy feet high, and the wall twenty-four feet in thickness. All the ornaments of the temple, as well for the richness of the materials, as exquisite workmanship, was equal to the magnificence of the building, of which some part is yet standing. But the gold, silver, ivory, and precious stones were pillag'd when Cambyfes set fire to all the temples of Egypt. Then it was that the Persians, transporting all these treasures into Asia, and carrying likewise Egyptian workmen with them, built the famous palaces of Persepolis, Susa, and some other of their cities. Of forty-seven tombs of their kings, which embellish'd Thebes or the neighbourhood of it, Diodorus only describes that of Ismandes or Ofimandus, which was call'd the Memnionium; this Ismandes or Ofimandus being

* Diog. 1.

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no other than Mendes or Memnon, one of the successors of Sesostris. This sepulchre was six thousand two hundred and fifty feet in circumference. The inside of it was divided into several apartments, all differing one from the other. An account of them is agreeably given in this author ; and Sethos view'd them all with admiration.

AFTER having visited the Memnonium, the two priests, as they had agreed with Amedes, carry'd the young prince immediately to Syena, a place not so remarkable in itself, as for the way leading to it. This way was the more charming as it was not regularly border'd on the sides, like a street, with palaces in a strait line : But the prospect of a fine champian country was every moment broken off by stately edifices, plac'd at unequal distances one from the other. But to say the truth, this continuation of Thebes divided itself on the right and on the left of the river into several towns which had their particular names ; as Hermonthis, Tophium, Latopolis, Elythia, Apollinopolis the Great, the Ombes, and lastly Syena. To give Sethos an idea of these places, the two priests, designing to return with him by private passages, continued always in the high-road ; but he was with them in one of their cover'd chariots, with thin curtains round it, which they could draw

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draw back at pleasure, and thro' which they could see without being seen. They made him observe at a distance a square temple, which had four avenues, each compos'd of two rows of treble columns, or columns plac'd three and three upon a triangular pedestal. On the cornices of these columns were alternatively a sphinx and a tomb. Each double row was of five hundred pedestals or fifteen hundred columns, which in all made six thousand columns, each of a single piece, and seventy feet high. Diodorus makes no mention of this temple, but modern travellers yet see the remains of it *.

As soon as Sethos arriv'd at Syena they shew'd him the deep well, over which the sun pass'd perpendicularly the day of the summer solstice, so that at noon the whole form of it was seen entire at the bottom of the water. This phenomenon, as well as that of the Obelisks of this city, which at that moment gave no shadow, prove that it is situated exactly under the tropick of Cancer.

THE next morning they propos'd to Sethos to visit the lesser Cataract, which is not above four or five leagues distance from Syena; for the larger is near to Napata in Ethiopia:

* Paul Lucas has given a print of them. *Voyage to the Levant*, tom. 3.

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The smaller is a chain of rocks, which on that side towards Syena appear of a prodigious breadth, and of the height of two hundred feet perpendicular from the surface of the river in its natural course. But at more than ten furlongs farther towards the south begins the unevenness of these rocks, the cavities of which are so deep, that the water which passes over these frightful places, fall and dash against the rocks with such violence, that the noise of it fills the mind with terror as far as they are heard. However, the Nile in its increase abundantly fills these cavities, and covers them in a perfect level. It was then towards the end of the first month of its decrease; before which, the journey to Syena, as well as the siege of Coptos, would have been equally impracticable. But the Nile, which runs gently in the plains, has then at the Cataract the swiftness of an arrow from a bow. Sethos had the pleasure of seeing the barks of travellers, which driving at this season with the stream, make a fall of about two hundred feet without any danger*; an inconceivable trial in the first who ventur'd upon it. Here are likewise seen the remains of an astonishing work. The natural cascade, which falls with the impetuosity we have just observ'd, leaves a space betwixt it and the perpendicular wall. The kings of Thebes

* Strab. l. 17. p. 818.

had

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had caus'd a large platform † to be made, where they walk'd dry under the water ; the motion of which forms it into a vaulted arch ; and moreover, had caus'd to be hollow'd out of the natural rock, even with the platform, a vast grotto, enlighten'd by several rows of windows. Sethos allow'd, that this part of his journey very justly crown'd all the beauties of it. The two priests therefore conducted him back again to Syena. The Nile, along the banks of which they travell'd, and which they frequently pass'd over on bridges, wholly employ'd Sethos's imagination, and gave him an opportunity of asking his guides their opinion of the rise of this river, and the causes of its inundation.

THE eldest of the two immediately answer'd, That the Egyptians being inclin'd to look upon the Nile as a gift immediately from the gods, or as a god itself, which had a temple at Nilopolis ; they thought it best to leave the people in an ignorance so conducive to their piety. Indeed, continu'd he, the greater part of mankind is kept up in a greater veneration for the gods, by the peculiar operations they attribute to them, than by the effects which result from the general order of their providence. Therefore, not discovering to them the fact which is known

† Paul Lucas, tom. 3.

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to us, we leave an open field for some writers, who, not having seen things themselves, relate such conjectures, with regard to the Nile, the falsity of which time daily discovers. Some have said, that this river takes its rise in the mountains of Atlas, towards the western coasts of Africa ; and that traversing all that part of the world, it came into Egypt by the northern confines of Ethiopia. Others, advancing something nearer to the truth, tho' yet very far from it, bring the Nile directly from the southern parts of Egypt, but, without reason, separating Africa by the ocean at the Equator ; then place the rise of this river in those lands which they suppose beyond it, and which they call the Anticthones, or the other world : So that, according to their notion, the Nile traverses the sea, without mixing its waters with that of the ocean. They call the mountains, where they imagine it to spring, the mountains of the moon, and place them ten degrees beyond the Equator *. It is more than a century since the sacerdotal college of Thebes has sacrific'd immense sums to dive into the truth of this matter. Our priests, accompany'd by our officers of the second order, have neither fear'd the danger nor the fatigues of travels by sea and land, which they have undertaken, either

* See the chart call'd, *Antiquissima orbis delineatio*, apposite to p. 84 of the 1st vol. of father Briet's book, intitled, *Parallela Geographia veteris & novæ.*

alone,

alone, or with sundry merchants, who coasted it to different ports of Africa: and it has appear'd, that the discovery of the rise of the Nile, which was the first motive of their inquiries, has not been the only fruit of them. They found out, that the western coast of Africa is not divided by the ocean under the Equator, nor bends toward the east, as is yet believ'd by most of the geographers, who stretch out this coast to the most eastern extremities of Asia, and inclose the Indian ocean in this space as a Mediterranean sea *. Africa, on the contrary, extends in a point declining towards the west, to the thirty-fifth degree of southern latitude. The priest, who discours'd him, even shew'd him, on a small chart which he had about him, the situation of the eastern coasts of Africa to its point, and the turning of the western coasts, as well as the names of the principal inhabitants who dwelt as well on the one as the other, to the Fortunate islands. We know no other way at this time to these islands but by the Streights of Hercules's Pillars; and return the same way, for want of cultivating the knowledge the Egyptians

* This system has been reviv'd in the latter centuries; and Marin Sanuto, a Venetian, about 1330, publish'd a chart of it, which is in Bongar's collection, call'd, *Gesta Dei per Francos*. But see in the above-mention'd work of father Briet, the chart, intitled, *Agathodæmonis orbis descriptio*, opposite to p. 87. of vol. 1.

had of the whole compass of Africa. As for the springs of the Nile, continued the priest, we have found them in a barbarous kingdom of Ethiopia, for which we have yet no name, but the inhabitants call it Goiama. They are twelve degrees on this side the Equator, which brings them to twenty-two degrees, or five hundred and fifty leagues on this side the mountains of the moon. And we observe in general, that the geographical corrections almost always tend to diminish the distances of places reckon'd by the most antient geographers. Moreover, these springs seem to arise in a mountain cover'd with trees, which is flat at top. There we find two small openings of cisterns plac'd pretty near one to the other, like two eyes. But we can't find them, because we are immediately hinder'd by roots of trees. The water has no issue but at the foot*. This river issuing from the mountain opposite to the north, soon forms a lake, call'd by the inhabitants Dambea, which is above sixty leagues in circumference. At last, after many windings to the east and to the west,

* This agrees with the description father Kircher, OEd. *Ægypt. tom. 1. pag. 57.* makes of the springs of the Nile, on the relation of father Peter Pais, a Portuguese jesuit, who was the first discoverer of them; and with the map he gives of the course of this river into Egypt. M. de Lisle differs a little from it in his map of Africa of 1722. He has even plac'd the two eyes, mention'd in this description, to the right of Minus.

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absence, as well as by the directness or obliquity of its aspect, is the principal agent in the different dispositions of the earth, and of the air which encompasses it ; its operations are more constant between the two tropicks, which include its annual course, than in the spaces beyond them to the poles, over which it has less power. For that reason the winds, which are caus'd by the rarefaction of the heated air, are more regular in the torrid zone than any where else. The heat of the days, and the coolness of the nights return always the same in the different months of the year. With regard to the rains, which are form'd of the exhalations and vapours dispers'd in the air ; it is the sun itself which raises them abundantly in its perpendicular situation, and at the same time dissolves them into torrents of water. Thence follows, that differing from what happens in the temperate and in the frigid zones, which have summer when the sun approaches them, and winter when it departs from them ; the winter, or the rainy season, in each of the two parts of the torrid zones, at least in Africa, is the time of the most direct passage of the sun over them. Now, as the sources of the Nile are in the northern part of this zone, the first streams of this river increase when the sun is in the northern signs, where it causes our summer. The same happens to all the rivers which have their spring in the torrid

torrid zone. But they are not all fill'd with a slime so beneficial as that of the Nile to fatten the ground. This discourse brought our travellers insensibly to Syena.

THERE they enter'd the subterraneous passages, and they made Sethos continue in them as much as possible till they came to Thebes, that a view of the sacred curiosities might succeed the sight of the prophane. I shan't speak here of the former, which were not very different from what Sethos had seen in the subterranean edifices of Memphis. The body of ceremonies were much the same. But in the Theban Nome they were animated by a spirit of rigour, which, in the opinion of Sethos, took off very much not only of their beauty, but their value; and whereas in the sacerdotal Nome of Memphis, virtue was an exercise befitting men of honour, in that of Thebes it seem'd to be a labour for slaves. In the mean time, Sethos keeping these reflections to himself, came at last above ground again in the capital. The priests shew'd him all the beauties of their college, and reserv'd their observatory for the last.

THE apartment which bore this name, was plac'd on the temple of the Theban Jupiter, and compos'd of two long galleries one over the other. The highest was ter-

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minated towards the north by two pretty low towers; and towards the south by a high cupola open on all sides, which was properly the place for observations. The lowest of the two galleries contain'd all the astronomical books. They were divided into two classes; one containing books of the elements, methods and systems; the noted authors of which were represented in a row of pictures, by which young students never pass'd without making a profound reverence. Thence the most eastern Indians took the exterior adoration they render'd to their first learned men, The second class contain'd a collection of immediate observations, made since astronomy was cultivated at Thebes. The columns of the syringes had preserv'd those anterior to the deluge, which were transcrib'd into these books; and in which they had remark'd and corrected the imperfections necessarily attending the first attempts towards the sciences.

SETHOS entering into this first gallery of books, saw three or four hundred priests of all ages, from eighteen years upwards, who were reading or writing in silence, on desks plac'd along the shelves. Our Grecians mention much the same circumstance of the observatory of Acanthis*. In the observatory

* See the preface of the *Almag.* of father Riccioli.

of

of Thebes there were, however, about twenty elders, to whom the youngest apply'd themselves, and open'd their difficulties, whispering. They were not always courteously receiv'd; and these great masters judg'd, that a too great liberty of asking questions not only encourag'd idleness in young beginners, but accusom'd them, under the pretext of affirming nothing, to say a great many childish things. The prince's guides had already led him towards these priests, who were directors of the studies; because he had express'd a desire of seeing nearer at hand such illustrious men, whose name alone had long before excited a veneration in him. They were advanc'd part of the way to meet him; and they took pleasure in answering the questions he made concerning the different applications of the pupils he saw so attentive at their study. Some, said they, continue the general tables of calculation begun fifteen hundred years ago, with regard as well to numbers, as to rectilinear or spherical triangles, to facilitate and shorten the computations the problems of astronomy engag'd them in. This long preparation shews that the Egyptians as well as the Greeks, had not the method which the latter attempted to find out, in order to save the enormous trouble of numerical multiplications and divisions *. Others, farther ad-

* In this condition they were in before the invention of logarithms, and when they made use of Hervart's tables.

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vanc'd, continued the priests, make calculations of the eclipses by tables already form'd, or calculate tables of the different planets by observations given. Some are oblig'd to give ephemerides for different places of the earth. The most experienc'd undertake ephemerides for the suppos'd inhabitants of some of the planets; and who, without doubt, think themselves at rest in the center of the universe, as we do. Others, to conclude, examine the courses of all the planets seen from the sun. These find the motion of the planets, which from the earth seem to us so odd, and so difficult to be brought to any certain hypothesis, to be, excepting some difference in swiftness, uniform and regular. The sun, which according to all manner of appearance, is not inhabited, is the only place from whence the planets would appear to move as they do, and where astronomy would be easy. But being upon the earth in a wrong situation for observation, we may say, that whereas in the other parts of physick nature seeks only to be conceal'd, in astronomy it seeks to deceive us.

SETHOS, charm'd with what he saw and heard, said to them; O ye venerable men, worthy of eternal memory and acknowledgments! these difficulties you have overcome, place you in the highest rank of all the learned men of the world, Astronomy, in the

the opinion of every wise man who sets a true value upon things, is the highest attempt of human understanding, and of all inventions that which by its sublimity and certainty does the most honour to mankind; because it surpasses, in some manner, humanity itself. It is to you we are in general indebted for this glory; and it is you who have taught us what attention and study can render us capable of. As our Egyptian heroes have given to most civiliz'd nations those laws in which their happiness consists, you furnish them with means to enjoy, for the greatest benefits of life, that heaven you have discover'd to them; you will leave it, as it were, an inheritance to posterity *. The heavens, by your care, far better known than the earth itself, will serve alone to give an exact knowledge of the situation of every country, and the extent of every sea, and will alone guide different nations to a desir'd intercourse one with the other. The eldest of the priests answer'd him, That they all receiv'd this compliment with pleasure; not with respect to their persons, but as regarding the whole science, of which they perceiv'd by his discourse he perfectly knew the application and use. He added, in a polite manner, that after having discours'd with him, they were going to shew him in

* *Cale in hereditatem cunctis relinso.* Flip. l. 2. c. 26.

the

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the upper gallery their astronomical instruments; not as it was usual with them to many initiates, for custom's sake, but to have his opinion and advice. Sethos, though he very sincerely declin'd this respect, follow'd them, however, with great joy.

As they enter'd into this gallery at the south end, Sethos immediately saw the cupola over his head; the light of which added greatly to the beauty of the gallery, tho' it had likewise windows on both sides. This cupola, which was exactly round, was twenty feet in diameter. They always left hanging there the tube, which serv'd them to gather those rays alone which proceed from the star, and to guide the eye to follow it continually *. But when they would get up into the cupola to make observations, they made a floor in it, by means of joysts and boards, which they thrust out in a moment from the thickness of the roof of the gallery. Here Cheres saw all the representations the Thebans had of the motions of the stars, either in relievo, as globes and spheres; or in planes, as the planispheres, analemmas, astro-labes, and every other species of astronomical projections. They did not omit shewing

* Tho' the antients had not the use of those glasses, which are the most essential part of telescopes or perspectives, they nevertheless made use of tubes, for the reasons mention'd in the text.

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him the ring parallel to the plane of the Equator, which the Egyptians, and even the Greeks make use of to know the exact moment of the Equinox, by the shadow which one side of this ring makes upon the other in the instant, when it happens between sun-rising and setting. Hipparcus and Ptolemy were both astonish'd to see sometimes the moment of the vernal Equinox appear in the morning, and appear again at noon. The priests mention'd this phenomenon to Sethos, as they explain'd to him the use of this ring; and told him, that in this particular case, the true moment of the Equinox is at noon, and that of the morning only apparent; but that they had nothing yet decisive of the cause of this appearance*.

GOING towards the end of the gallery, Sethos perceiv'd some priests who were calculating nativities and horoscopes. In that, as we have elsewhere observ'd, consisted their divination. They added to it an enquiry, yet more strict than that of the other priests of Egypt, into the secrecy of kings and private persons. The young prince did not think it proper to ask them any questions

* It is an effect of the astronomical refraction, which the antients perceiv'd; but which they neither measur'd nor made use of in their calculations of horizontal solar eclipses, in which it chiefly takes place. See this article in the *Almag.* of father Riccioli, tom. 1. pag. 133.

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on this head ; not only because they would have hid from him the grounds of their art ; but because he had heard of Amedes, and perceiv'd by the natural integrity of his mind, that they were not worthy his notice. So the priests led him at last to the inside of the two towers, which were at the north end of the gallery.

THESE towers were round, like the cupola, and of the same diameter : but being level with the gallery, the half sphere, which serv'd for a roof to them, did not begin till the height of twelve feet ; because they would not have these roofs cut the horizon of the cupola, which was higher than all the buildings in or about Thebes. In the western tower was represented the hemisphere of the firmament, which contains the fix northern signs ; and in the eastern, that which contains the fix southern. The circles of the sphere were describ'd in them as in our celestial globes ; and all the fix'd stars were mark'd according to their bigness and reciprocal distances. The priests told Sethos, that an exact observation of the position of the fix'd stars, was their rule for an exact determination of the apparent course of the planets ; because they appear to our eyes to depart from or approach to certain fix'd stars. It is by that, continu'd they, that we have at last hit

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hit upon the theory even of the comets, so far as to foretel their return *. They added, that their forefathers having been as far as under the Equator, they had seen and observ'd the whole firmament; and that they did not believe the eye of man could perceive a single star which was not describ'd in their two hemispheres. It is true, that whereas Ptolemy knew but of one thousand twenty-two in the whole firmament, the priests of Thebes had plac'd in each of their hemispheres near a thousand.

SETHOS having contemplated these stars, which were of gold on an azure ground, for some time, said: O learned priests, allow me to expose to you a surprize, into which I fall as often as I observe the stars on planispheres or globes; and by so much the more, when I see them on these two magnificent vaults, into which you have brought them all; which is, that notwithstanding the narrow limits of all these representations compar'd to the immense extent of the heavens, the stars seem to me more separated, and at greater distances

* Diod. lib. 1. sect. 2. attributes this knowledge to the Egyptians. The Chaldeans, posterior to them, and who allow'd them to be their masters, had it likewise, according to Apollonius of Myndus, quoted by Sen. Nat. quæst. lib. 7. cap. 3. Apollonius himself hop'd this art would soon or late be recover'd. See the history of the academy of sciences, 1699. pag. 72. on the subject of a memorial of M. Cassini.

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from one another, and above all, in an infinite less number, when so represented, than they appear in the firmament itself, where they seem to be crowded together in every the least space of so vast an expansion. At first view we think we see millions in that celestial hemisphere, in which the most quick-sighted eyes, such as yours, have never found one thousand. Thus, in this respect too, we say truly, as you have learnedly observ'd, that, in regard to astronomy, nature seems industrious to deceive us: but we must confess, that our sight does not give us the measure, greatness, and distances of things. There is, as we may say, a jarring between that and our imagination. Both one and the other have an opposite influence in our first views; and in many cases, sciences only can rectify them. In reality, while our imagination prodigiously increases the number of the stars, our sight diminishes yet more the extent of the firmament. I might, perhaps, undertake to prove, that the sky appears to us only as the half of a sphere, whose diameter does not exceed two hundred and forty feet. The priests, tho' accusom'd to all the paradoxes of astronomy, were astonish'd at the novelty of this proposition beyond expression; and they were more than ordinary attentive to what Sethos said. I believe, continu'd he, if one were to ask an indifferent person of what bigness the sun appears to him to be; he
would

would account it about a foot in diameter; and indeed it seems to be a little more than a foot at the horizon, and something less at noon. I will therefore suppose a foot as a mean measure, the exactness of which is here not necessary. Now astronomers have found, that the diameter of the disk of the sun is about half a degree of the firmament. Thus the sun passing the day of the Equinox thro' half the circumference of the Equator, which is a great circle, goes one hundred and eighty degrees, or three hundred and sixty half degrees, which is three hundred and sixty apparent feet. The diameter of a circle being pretty near the third of its circumference, or two thirds of its half circumference, two hundred and forty feet must be the diameter of a circle, whose half circumference is three hundred and sixty feet. Thence, continu'd Sethos, I venture to draw this consequence; That if I was upon a plain horizon, such as in the middle of an even desert, or upon the sea; and that, placing myself in the center of a half circumference drawn above me, whose diameter was two hundred and forty feet, or its semi-diameter one hundred and twenty feet, a disk of silver, which should take up half a degree of this circle, was to pass this half circumference: I say, that not being otherwise inform'd of any thing by any other object, I must necessarily fall into two errors: The first, would
be

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be to believe this disk as big as the sun ; and the second, to suppose it plac'd, as well as the whole line it would trace, in the firmament, as I suppose the sun to be, tho' it be in reality a great distance from it. To conclude, said Sethos, carrying my idea yet farther, I am persuaded, that the semi-diameter of one hundred and twenty feet, given us by the observation I presume to lay before you, is very near the point of distance, at which common eyes begin to lose the power of judging of the real distances and bigness of things, unless the imagination be assisted by the comparison of the intermediate and neighbouring objects, whose distances or bulk are otherwise pretty near determin'd.

THE priests having heard this discourse, forbore all examination of the physical suppositions of the problem, and told Sethos : That they were much less affected with the brightness of his wit, and the depth of his knowledge, than the modesty with which he had deliver'd things the most singular in the world. Long may you live, O great prince, said they, long may you live, and be the glory of Egypt, by the perfection of all the talents, and of all the virtues, which are visible in you. It was a great satisfaction to Sethos to be approv'd in his attempt of doing some honour to the education of Memphis, in presence of the priests of Thebes. He thank'd them with
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the greatest marks of gratitude for that openness of heart which they had been pleas'd to shew him, and for the generosity with which they had allowed him, at least, an access to their most profound secrets. He added, that he should deem himself happy if he could long continue to be their disciple; but that his duty calling him back to Coptos, he desir'd, as their last favour, that they would suffer him to be conducted thither that same day. The two priests, who had not forsaken him a moment, carry'd him back by the way he came, and Amedes, who knew the time of his return, was waiting at the sacerdotal college to receive him.

THE young prince, upon ent'ring Coptos again, laid aside all thoughts of whatever he had seen during his journey, to apply himself wholly to the affairs of war. The morning after his arrival, Amedes, visiting with him the fortifications of the city, made him observe the difference of the works with regard to their different situation. The next day he shew'd him the works the enemies had begun since the fall of the waters of the river. As yet they were only the lines of their camp, defended by ditches pallisado'd, and in some places by walls. He told him, that these works would have been much farther advanc'd, and that there would have been a

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great many more nearer the city, but for the continual oppositions they had met with from the army of Memphis, and the frequent sallies of the garrison of Coptos, who often destroy'd in the night what the enemies had done in the day. But that at last the army of Thebes being superior to that of Memphis, at least in open field, the enemy was advanc'd to the point he saw; and that they would infallibly bring their machines in a few days to the very foot of the walls. He added, that Thoris, waiting 'till some favourable opportunity offer'd, did with reason confine himself to defend the avenues to Coptos on the side of Memphis, that the place might always be supply'd with necessary ammunition and provision during the siege; and that for this reason he had pitch'd his camp on that side. As soon as Amedes had done speaking, Sethos ask'd him, if he had been of the number of those who had sally'd out to hinder the besiegers works? Amedes having answer'd, that the governor had engag'd him to lead on some of these attacks, the young prince immediately reply'd, he design'd himself to be in the first sally the governor should order. But Amedes acquainted him, that he had promis'd the king his father, not to suffer him to go out of the place. My lord, added he, I have reasons for it which are not so evident that I could open them to the king, and which you will

will likewise dispense with my communicating to you. But the promise I have made him is binding on this head, and forbids me falling out myself as long as you are in Cop-tos. However, to let you see that my aim is not to be an obstacle to your valour, nor even to screen you from the common perils of war; you shall enter into action as often as you please on the walls, where you won't fail of seeing very vigorous engagements. Towers of wood or ladders will raise the enemy within reach of our javelins, and even of our swords, and battering rams will make breaches in our walls, which we must defend man for man. I shall here take occasion, in answer to the reproach cast upon the Egyptians by some Greek authors, that they did not excell in the art of war, to say, that it was they, who in the persons of Osiris, Sesostris, and Memnon, produc'd the first conquerors in the world. That afterwards they courageously drove away from the heart of their dominions, both the Arabians who had seiz'd them by surprize, under the shepherd kings, long before Sethos's time, and the Ethiopians under king Sabacon, two or three hundred years before the invasion of Cambyfes. But moreover, setting aside their bravery; it is certain, that their ingenuity and power had furnish'd them, long before the Greeks, not only with all sorts of arms and instruments of war, the invention of which He-

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Herodotus * attributes to them, but with those offensive and defensive machines which the latter afterwards put in use at sieges.

SETHOS examin'd with attention all those which were prepar'd within the city. As those provinces which are never so little distant from one another have yet different customs, he compar'd the machines of Coptos with those he had seen the models of at Memphis ; and arguing upon this subject with the engineers, he endeavour'd to discover the singular advantages of one over the other.

RETURNING from the temple of Isis, by the way of the morafs, the young prince had already observ'd, that the foot of the wall on that side was wash'd by the water. But taking a view of this part from the inside of the ramparts, he observ'd that the enemy, who was master of the adjacent parts, had since cover'd the water with a great number of flat boats. The governor knew it ; but he did not conceive they could make any great advantage of them : and having a watchful eye over the rest, he look'd upon the morafs itself as a defence which nature had furnish'd him. It was, however, on that side the first attack on the town was made ; because the

* Herodot. lib. 3. & Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2.

Enemy built very much upon the success of a machine they had newly invented, to scale the city from the morass. They began, by covering the whole surface of the water with boats; and fastening then one by the other, they form'd a floor as firm as if they had lain on dry ground. This work awaken'd the governor's attention, and he began to think more seriously of defending this part of the walls. Sethos, who was standing by his side, told him, that he call'd to mind an expedient, the first idea of which he had found in the histories of Egypt; that he would go and confer thereon with the engineers, and that in an hour he would offer him this invention ready for execution: that in the mean time, he had the confidence to promise him a success from it as happy as it had been in former times. The governor, a prudent officer, answer'd him; That independant of the good or bad success of this project, the whole kingdom was happy in having a prince who knew how to think, and above all, who was willing to submit his thoughts to the examination of experienc'd persons. That he waited with impatience for his proposal, which he was before-hand very much dispos'd to follow.

THE same day, the enemies having cover'd their boats with planks, brought all the pieces of the great machine they had prepar'd; and they had taken their measures so well, that it

requir'd a very little time to put it together. Sethos, whose design the governor had approv'd of, was very diligent in observing, thro' private chinks in the wall, what he could discern of this machine, and of the effect it could have. The engineers had orders to come frequently to him, to know whether, upon what he might from time to time perceive of their works, it might be necessary to make any alteration in the iron hooks he had already order'd in the general view of his design. He saw nothing that made it worth while to make any change in the form he had at first given. His intention was, to let the besiegers put their machine in a condition to work without interruption, that his counter-battery might make the greater havock amongst them. However, to give them no suspicion of his private design, he ply'd them with arrows shot at random from the top of the wall. They had taken the precaution to screen themselves from them; for the greater part of their barks, especially those in which their work oblig'd them to be most, were cover'd with boards slanting on the side towards the town.

NIGHT being at last come, they perceiv'd that the enemy had chosen that time to put their machine in practice. It was a large lodge or shed open before, and capacious enough to hold fifty soldiers. It was to rest upon

upon the brink of the parapet of the ramparts; the height of which, the besiegers engineers perfectly knew. The body of this lodge was to be supported in this manner by long, strait stakes, of which only the hindermost were upright or perpendicular to the barks. All the rest serv'd as peers or jaumbs, being fix'd obliquely into these, in the same manner as is practis'd with galleries of wood which have a great bearing out. In this form it was something like the Sambuca of the Latins, so call'd for the resemblance it had to a harp, and which Marcellus made use of at the siege of Syracuse on the sea-side, according to the relation and description of Polybius and Plutarch. But the machine we are here describing, was more considerable in every respect; and the manner of erecting it very different. The workmen, turning their backs to the town, rais'd it as the semi-diameter of a circle upon supporters, plac'd and fasten'd in the boats, by drawing it with cords running in pullies, which were fasten'd to a sort of masts almost as high as the walls.

THE besiegers had not put any men into the row of boats which were nearest the wall, not to expose them to the great stones, and other heavy bodies, which the besieged might throw down upon them: but on each side of the machine were plac'd a great number of

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archers,

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archers, to infest the besieged on the ramparts with their arrows,

SETHOS, on his part, had caus'd to be fasten'd to the parapet a great number of strong pullies, tackled with strong ropes, at the end of which were fasten'd iron hooks of all forms. The enemy did not see these pullies, not only because they had taken care to remove all light round them, and had kept only for themselves as much as was absolutely necessary for their work; but because these pullies were plac'd between the heads of the soldiers, which Sethos, by a stratagem which succeeded, had some time before plac'd standing upon the parapet. While the enemy, making a jest of this disposition, , which to them seem'd fantastick, saluted them with their arrows; the eight lords, companions of Sethos, dispers'd among those of the front, but with their armour fasten'd behind to lesser ropes, and holding in each hand one of the iron hooks fasten'd to the ends of the larger ropes, fell down, or rather were dexterously let down, as if they fell of themselves, one after another, as dead men, into the nearest boats. The enemy not thinking these suppos'd dead men worth their notice, and not having perceiv'd the ropes, hidden from their eyes by favour of the night, were only busy, some in clearing the brink of the parapet with their arrows; and others, in
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raising their machine by force of labour. In the mean time, these young noblemen having, with great activity and address, fasten'd their iron hooks to the hinder part of those flat boats, which contain'd the workmen who were raising the machine, return'd to the foot of the wall, where they made, all together, a great cry; which was the signal for hoisting them up immediately, and for hawling at once all the ropes to which the iron hooks were fasten'd. The disorder which the first motion of the pullies caus'd, is inexpressible: It threw down all those who held the machine suspended in the air, and almost rais'd to its full height. The fall of it crush'd to pieces above two hundred men, engineers and labourers, who directed, or were assistant at the raising of it. All the soldiers in the shatter'd machine were kill'd or wounded. The pullies raising the ends of the boats nearest the walls, made all the planks give way, and threw those, who a moment before were insulting the besieged with their arrows, into the water. The greater part of the boats to which the hooks were fasten'd, being rais'd intirely out of the water, whirl'd about in the air by the force of their own weight hanging to the ropes, discharg'd themselves of those men who had taken hold of them for fear of drowning, and crush'd them to death afterwards in the other boats which had receiv'd them in their fall. Much in
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the same manner it was that Archimedes turn'd the effect of the Sambuca's, which Marcellus had caus'd to be apply'd to the Acradina of Syracuse against the Romans themselves; and thus Sethos, having no farther experience in war than what he had attain'd to from history and reading, made himself fear'd and respected, in his very first exploit, by Mephres, one of the most valiant kings the dynasty of Thebes ever had. Something of the same nature has been since related of Scipio the younger, and of Lucullus, who only by reading of Xenophon had made themselves great captains before they commanded the armies of the republick.

WHILE every body, and in particular the governor, were heaping praises upon Sethos; he himself was gall'd to the soul that he had not yet had an opportunity of giving any mark of his valour. He told the governor, shewing them his eight companions, that it was they, and not he, who had given the first proofs of their courage, as well in the sallies they had been engag'd in during his absence, as in the perillous undertaking of fastening the hooks to the boats. But that he comforted himself with the hopes of partaking with them the danger of an exploit that he had projected against the enemy's towers, without going out of the gates of the city, since it was forbidden him. The governor

vernor answer'd, That it was not for him to exhort him to any thing : but that after the success of his first attempt he had not the power to dissuade him from any thing whatsoever. But nevertheless he rely'd very much upon the wisdom of Amedes, for the preservation of a prince who was already an object of wonder, not only to the king's subjects, but to his enemies.

MEPHRES, whose army was very numerous, had taken the very time in which this machine was preparing, and to be put in practice, to advance his towers. The continual skirmishes between his army and that of Memphis had not hinder'd him from leveling several passages thro' which these monstrous piles of wood, quite erected, were to advance towards the walls upon rolls. At sun-rising they saw two of them, of equal size, before that part of the wall which had the largest face towards the plain, and where the Thebans had already fill'd up the ditch. They were square buildings, of four fathoms each side, and higher by two feet than the parapets of the ramparts, before which they were plac'd at fifteen or twenty feet distance. Toward the top they had a floor, to which there was an ascent by a stair-case contriv'd on the inside of the timber. This floor was lower than the brink of the tower by the height of a tall man, to secure the besiegers from

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from darts lanc'd in a direct line. But on that side which was towards the wall, there was upon the floor a broad bench, upon which the enemy were to mount, to annoy the the besieged, who might line the ramparts with their arrows. Besides that, every tower had a sort of draw-bridge of three feet broad, with iron rails on the sides about three feet high. These draw-bridges the enemy were to let down on the parapet, and by that means to endeavour to throw themselves into the city. Sethos, seeing these draw-bridges which as yet were erected in the air, and having observ'd the iron rails, smiling, said to his officers who were about him ; These people surely are very awkward ; we may, perhaps, let them see something more bold.

IN the mean time the ramparts were provided with soldiers commanded by the governor himself, who prepar'd to repulse the besiegers. Besides the arrows which they shot continually at the enemy in the plain, he order'd, that as soon as they observ'd them upon the floors of the towers, they should shoot arrows into the air that might fall down again on their heads. Sethos, on the contrary, wish'd, with regard to his design, that the floors might be full of soldiers, because he look'd upon them as so many men who should not escape. But observing that these arrows did not do them much harm, nor hinder them

them from exposing themselves to the danger, he did not contradict this order of the governor's, nor did he inform him of his project, to give him the pleasure of a surprize. He had, indeed, in the morning, desir'd that two long planks might be plac'd within the ramparts, over-against the two towers; one end of which resting upon the ground, and being rais'd by degrees, and supported from space to space with stones, the other end towards the parapet was of the same height as the towers. The governor let him make these preparations, thinking he design'd to place soldiers upon these planks, who being something higher might the better resist the enemy's descent into the ramparts. But Sethos, who had concerted his design with his eight companions, caus'd them to be arm'd, as himself, with light armour, and each a sword of a foot and a half long, broad at the hilt, and very sharp-pointed. The moment he thought most proper for his design, placing himself, with three of his companions, at fifteen paces distance from the foot of one of the planks; and the other five at the same distance opposite to the foot of the other, they all cry'd out at once to make way. Immediately taking a sudden jump all together with a surprizing vigour, they were seen, in a moment, running on the planks, rais'd in the air, and falling, with sword in hand, into the two towers. The governor, as well as
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all the officers and soldiers on the rampart, stood motionless at this sight: but the people in the towers, much more surpriz'd, thought them really fall'n down from heaven by a prodigy which foreboded their certain ruin. Indeed, having no other weapon but their bows, which they were going to make use of, by mounting all together upon the broad bench, they were all stabb'd before they had time to come to themselves. As the stair-case and bottom of the tower were fill'd with Theban soldiers, commanded to back those who were above; our young heroes threw all the dead bodies down the horizontal opening of the stairs; and they, being in armour, by their weight, either kill'd or overthrew all who were on the stair-case. Not satisfy'd with that, they took the levers, or other instruments of iron design'd to let down the draw-bridges, and with a wonderful quickness and dexterity loosen'd the planks from the joists, which were more than sufficient for them to walk on; and throwing them down, they destroy'd those who were below in great numbers: They likewise ruin'd a great part of the stair-case, by leaving only such pieces of wood as were necessary for them, not to walk, but to jump or clamber from one place to another. At last, not designing to stay long there, they let down the draw-bridges, and return'd, running to the ramparts. But to deprive the enemies of the
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same opportunity, if they should attempt to come up in their turns, Sethos caus'd the two bridges to be dextrously cut off close to the parapet, and they fell at the foot of the wall.

THIS exploit had a far greater success than Sethos himself had imagin'd. The first soldiers, who got out of the two towers alive thro' the doors below, cry'd out in a fearful tone, That certain Genii, enemies to the Thebans, were come down from heaven on the tops of their towers, had destroy'd their companions there, and were making frightful ravage. This notion, supported by the groans of those within, and the noise of the boards falling, made those who were posted adjacent to the towers, fly to a great distance; and they did not scruple saying, that signs from heaven were superior even to the orders of their king. Mephres, who saw these young men in the air, and could hardly comprehend this unheard-of example of intrepidity, the author of which he suspected to be Sethos, plainly perceiv'd he should not be believ'd if he alledg'd it. So, not to expose his authority, he chose rather to give way to the superstition of his army. He gave orders the very same day to set fire at a distance to the two towers, since they were displeasing to the gods. He even added, that as their great machines had not succeeded, they would, in
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the continuance of the siege, only make use of the battering rams, the most simple of all machines; which they could not do without, to beat down the gates, or batter the walls of a city they so lawfully attack'd.

THE governor and Amedes, on their part, wrote to the king of Memphis, to give him an account of what had pass'd from the beginning of the siege, and of the glory which the young prince, and the eight lords his companions, had acquir'd. Thoris in the mean time receiv'd from the queen reproaches, either private or express'd, in a doubtful sense, that his projects advanc'd so slowly, and that the affairs of war remain'd always in the same situation. He did not want this spur to his rage. The contempt he had always lain under, but into which he imagin'd he was fall'n by a comparison to Sethos, whose name alone fill'd the mouths of every one, cast him into a confusion, which began to be visible in his orders. In short, under the pretext of taking advantage of the disorder, from which the Theban army was not yet recover'd; he let the governor know, that he was resolv'd the following night to attack the enemy with the greater part of his troops, and therefore desir'd he would favour his design by a sally of the best troops of his garrison, at midnight, and on that side opposite to him. He sent him, at the same time

time the word by which they might know one another in the dark. The governor consented to all, and let him know he wanted no other signal but that of the hour appointed. Thoris knew that Sethos never made one at the falls : but imagining upon such an occasion he would be near the gate on the inside, he hatch'd the black design of giving the enemy an opportunity of entring into the city. To put it in practice without being discover'd, he took upon him to go in person to view the way they were to pass to encounter the enemy. When he went into the tents of the chief officers, he talk'd aloud to them of his design ; he nam'd the gate the garison was to march out of, and gave them the word in such manner, that those who were round about the tent might hear it. Some of the eldest captains took upon them to acquaint him, that he would have done better to have spoken lower, because of the spies that king Mephres might have in the camp ; and the rather, as it was for particular officers to give the word to the troops in the moment they were to march. As it was the intention of Thoris to have the project of his enterprize come to the enemy's ears, he soften'd his tone no longer than till he was out of the hearing of those who, from space to space, presum'd to give him the same advice. The general order, in short, was to march against the army of the besiegers the hour he had advis'd the gover-

nor. He foresaw that their march would soon be stopp'd by the army of Mephres, who was sufficiently inform'd of all. So he propos'd, after having engag'd them some time, to found a retreat, under the plausible pretext of his design being discover'd, and so give the enemy an opportunity of cutting off the sally of the garison, and, perhaps, of entering the city. All this happen'd to the great misfortune of Memphis, as he foresaw; and to his own, which he did not expect.

MEPHRES had divided his troops into two bodies; the largest he commanded himself, and the other he sent under the command of one of his lieutenants against the garison. Thoris, at the head of his army, was immediately struck with fear at seeing the king of Thebes, who till then had never appear'd in person in any of the nightly expeditions, and with whom he had no thoughts of engaging. He remain'd at a stand, when the king fell upon him with his whole avant-guard; and commanding two or three of his officers, who were nearest his person, to seize him without wounding him, he caus'd him to be led hand-cuff'd to the quarters where the prisoners he had taken from the beginning of the siege were kept: after which, rushing on the foremost ranks, he made a terrible slaughter. But the next commanding officer after Thoris, a prince of the blood-royal of
Memphis,

Memphis, a man in years, and of great resolution, taking the command upon him in the absence of the general, gave immediate orders to the officers who were behind him to retreat with the army in good order and silence into their intrenchments; while with one single cohort, which he kept, he would oppose the whole shock of the Theban army. The soldiers of this cohort, to the number of three hundred, drew together imperceptibly with their backs to the wall of a long temple they had behind them. There they withstood all the fury of the enemy; and were almost all cut off, when the commander, directing his discourse to Mephres, said: My lord, you are conqueror of our first ranks, and of three hundred men which we were here; but the body of the army of Memphis is in safety. Be contented at this time with the remainder of these brave men, who surrender themselves prisoners to you. The king instantly put an end to the battle: he order'd the soldiers to be convey'd away, and care to be taken of them, especially of the wounded. Afterwards, giving his hand to the commander, he made him mount a horse by his side, and told him, that he should have no other chain but his word, nor no other prison but a tent near to his own. Thus the king return'd into the center of his camp, to inform himself of what pass'd on the other side of the city.

MEPHRES, to take advantage of the treason of Thoris, had given orders to his lieutenants to suffer the troops of the garison to advance very near to the camp, where they should be receiv'd by a body of the army in battle-array; and that in this interval of time a certain number of batallions should file off to the right and to the left, under favour of the darkness, and range themselves near the gate the garison was march'd out at. He gave two words instead of one; that by which they were to know one another in the engagement, and that which, being common to them and the garison of Coptos, was to favour the entrance of the besiegers into the place. The troops which were detach'd to the gate, had orders not to appear till the besieged being beaten, as in all appearance they would be, fled, or at least retir'd towards the city: but that then, mixing with them, and seeming to belong to them, they should throw themselves, in as great a number as possible, into Coptos.

THE attack of the garison, who were surpriz'd to find the enemy in so good a posture of defence, was, however, very vigorous; because the officers the governor had pitch'd upon were excellent soldiers, and seven of the companions of Sethos, who were with them as volunteers, encourag'd the troops by

by their example. Tho' the Theban army not only receiv'd them in front, but attack'd them insensibly on the flanks too; the soldiers of Coptos held out this unequal battle with so much courage, that the besiegers, who were posted near the gate, thought there would be no fugitive at all, and that this pretext for throwing themselves into the town would fail them. In the mean time the Thebans, beginning to speak aloud, that the army of Memphis was defeated, and the general taken, about fifty of the most cowardly of the garison, who were nearest the gate, forsook their ranks, and took to their heels towards the city. The governor, who believ'd all his troops were defeated and following them, caus'd the gates to be open'd to receive them. The Theban soldiers, who had waited with impatience for this opportunity, join'd with them in great numbers: but the fear and disorder of the former soon made them known from the latter, whose outward appearance was more stay'd, and who affected too much to call out the word, that they might be suffer'd to pass. The governor, who was in arms within and near the gate, with the flower of his officers and soldiers, among whom were Sethos and Amedes, cry'd out at once: We are betray'd; let the gates be shut. This order had no effect, the besiegers having so crowded up the passage, that it was impossible to stir them,

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The governor had nothing else to do but to send for succours from that part of the garrison which remain'd in the city ; and in the mean time to employ the men he had there to oppose this torrent. They suffer'd the small number of the enemy that were enter'd, to be dispers'd thro' the city, as not being able to do much harm of themselves : but the governor, with the choicest of his soldiers, whom he had already got together, Sethos, one of the young lords, who alone remain'd with him, Amedes, and even the slave we have already mention'd, and who never left his lord, when he would suffer him to follow him, resisted the besiegers, who were got to the widening of the gate, with so much vigour, that notwithstanding all the efforts of those who push'd them on behind, not any more enter'd.

AMEDES perceiving that Sethos, in the heat of action, was every moment out of his sight, gave him a particular charge not to go without the gates. The young prince had indeed no intention of doing it : but a moment afterward, perceiving the enemy gave way, and being under the gate, back'd by all the soldiers who were behind him, he could not persuade himself to lose such an advantage ; but pursuing it, was got without the gate, with the young lord and his slave, before he perceiv'd it. They were all three
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soon forc'd to retreat along the ditch on the left hand, to some distance from the gate, by the attack of fresh troops. Amedes himself, in opposition to his own orders, being engag'd under the same gate, and not being able to draw back without giving the enemy an opportunity of advancing upon him, and entering the city again, was likewise got out, and was forc'd towards the right hand by the troops of the king of This, by whom he was grievously wounded and taken prisoner. The governor knew there were persons of such distinction without the gates: but having charge of the place, he laid hold of the first favourable moment to shut the gate; and leaving only a wicket open, plac'd such men there as he could depend on; not only to see whom they let in, but to procure advice every moment of the troops that were without, and, above all, of Sethos and Amedes. In the mean time the young prince, with his companion and slave, making use of their utmost cunning and activity, and favour'd by the darkness of the night, were soon at such a distance as to be out of danger of being kill'd or taken prisoners. Then the result of their little council was, That the shortest and safest method for them was, courageously to overcome all obstacles, and join the troops of the garison; who yet defended themselves on the spot where they were first attack'd, and which they would easily find

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again by the noise. They order'd it so, by keeping all three together, that they got thither, after having kill'd by the way some of those who attempted to stop their course. Having soon made themselves known among the ranks, they, in some measure, renew'd their hopes. But Sethos soon after receiv'd a wound by a sword under the bottom of his armour, which laid him flat on the ground for dead. His companion, who saw it, threw himself immediately upon him, to endeavour, with the help of his slave, to draw his body out of the fight. They had just succeeded in it, when the young lord got such another blow himself, which laid him at a distance from Sethos senseless and almost without life. The slave thinking his lord dead beyond recovery, with reluctance drew his ring from his finger, to shew that he had accompany'd him faithfully to his death. Being likewise resolv'd to continue fighting near him, he had but just time in the tumult, to put this ring into his mouth. But he had hardly enter'd again into action, when, being on the flank of the battallion, from whence he had just remov'd his lord's body, the Arabian soldiers seiz'd him behind, and made him enter into the number of their prisoners. He us'd himself to hold his ring hid always under his tongue, having a confus'd idea that it might be a means to procure his enlargement.

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THE king, tir'd with expecting in his tent the success of so long and so obstinate an encounter, came himself to the field of battle ; and with an intent to spare his troops for the continuance of a siege, which he apprehended would not be soon at an end, he gave orders to sound a retreat almost as soon as he came thither. And thus the besieged, terribly lessen'd in number, and even not yet knowing their whole loss, return'd, however, this time into the city with honour.

BUT what an affliction was it, not only to the governor, but the whole garison, and all the inhabitants of Coptos, when they found Sethos wanting, as well as Amedes, the young lord, and the slave, from whom they might at least have learnt his fate ! At break of day the governor sent to the king of Thebes to demand a truce for burying their dead. Having easily obtain'd it from the king, who wanted the same himself, he sent to take an exact view of the field of battle, hoping to find out those he was most concern'd for, by their helmets or other armour, and in particular Sethos and Amedes, by their initiaes vests which they wore under their cuirass. But the vagabonds who range about for plunder, as it generally happens, had already stripp'd the dead, and the trampling of men and
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and horses had disfigur'd the greater part of them. The governor was soon inform'd, that there were no marks to be found of the bodies either of Sethos, Amedes or the slave; but that they were bringing in the young lord, whom they found yet breathing on the side of the field of battle, stripp'd like the rest. While they were dressing his wound, which did not prove to be mortal, he forestall'd the governor's curiosity, and told him, with groans, that he had seen the young prince kill'd, and that he had assisted the slave in dragging his body out of the crowd; but that having been wounded himself in the very instant, he knew nothing what was become of the body of Sethos, nor of the slave, who was then alive and well. The news of the young prince's death was soon known every where. On the one side it came to the king of Thebes; and on the other to Amedes. The latter, being discover'd to be an initiate by the officers of the king of This, who took care of his wound, which was more painful than dangerous, was laid in a litter, and sent as a prisoner of note to Abydus, distant hardly a day's journey. The king of This having seen him, gave him a very favourable reception. Amedes, on his part, tho' after the death of the prince he had no thoughts either of returning to Memphis, or of remaining in the kingdom of This, soon mediated a peace between the two kings,
father

father and uncle of Sethos, by disengaging the latter from the league he had made with the king of Thebes.

THE day after the fatal mistake, of which Thoris had been the cause, Mephres having receiv'd the news of the death of Sethos, sent his compliments of condolence to the governor, as representing the king of Memphis. He added, that he was just going to take vengeance for it; and that he might come himself in all safety, or send whom he might think fit, to be eye-witness of it. The governor made answer, that he would give the king his master an account of this generous civility of the king of Thebes: But that not conceiving what sort of vengeance he was about to take for the death of the prince, he begg'd he would excuse his giving any answer on this head. At the return of the herald, Mephres assembled his whole army, and plac'd all the prisoners of Memphis in the midst of the ranks. These motions were observ'd from the top of the ramparts of Coptos, but they could not yet comprehend what they would end in. At last they perceiv'd Thoris bare-headed, and led between two men who held him bound. Then Mephres, beginning to speak, said: Soldiers of Thebes, and ye soldiers of Memphis; behold this despicable general, who, having no distinction either of birth or merit, has had the insolence
to

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to accept of the command of the troops of Memphis against an army which it was well known I was to command in person. However incens'd I am at the little regard which has been had upon this occasion to a custom ever observ'd by all the kings of Egypt when engag'd in war, I have ample satisfaction in the advantage we have had ; and I believe Osoroth will soon be more displeas'd at this unworthy choice, than I could be. If he govern'd of himself, I know what measures I ought to have taken with him to prevent this affront. But as I don't vouchsafe to enter into a discussion of the deference due to the blood-royal of Egypt with any but those of the same blood ; I have suffer'd this affront, resolving to do my self justice for it. I had even rather have given marks of disdain than vengeance, with regard to a general so contemptible as this, had he only shewn his want of prudence and knowledge. But be it known to both nations, that this traitor has been the only cause of the misfortune which has this night befall'n the enemy's army and garrison, and above all, the incomparable prince Sethos, the loss of whom all Egypt ought to regret. This perfidious wretch it was, who, going yesterday in the evening from tent to tent to dispense his orders for the attack, thought he could not speak loud enough of his design, and of the word he had sent the governor of the city. In vain the most prudent

dent officers of his army advis'd him, one after another, as he came to them, to speak with more caution. He, without ceasing, resum'd the tone of his voice, with the apparent design of being heard by those spies, of whom an abhorrence of Daluca's administration furnishes me numbers. If he were my subject, and I would make him suffer the death he deserves, he should be examin'd in a council of war: But the chastisement I confine myself to, even with regard to my prisoner, don't require my taking so many measures. It is expedient to secure here at least some punishment for a villain, whose conduct might, perhaps, not be disapprov'd of by the ministry to which the kingdom of Memphis is now a prey. The king, having spoken in this manner, caus'd Thoris to be stripp'd to the girdle, notwithstanding the mournful protestations he made that the queen forc'd him to accept of the command; and that by giving his orders, without going out of the camp, he did not apprehend being overheard by the enemy. His hands being bound behind him, two men, one on each side of him, put his neck between two forks, and in that condition led him round the whole large space, which was surrounded by the troops of Thebes and the prisoners of Memphis, while two other men scourg'd him with long rods. This has since been a punishment inflicted by the Romans upon those who became

came the enemies of their country, previous to the stroke of the axe, and of which the bare recital given to the emperor Nero, made him determine to make away with himself, for fear of being overtaken in his flight.

AFTER the execution, the king said: Officers and soldiers of Memphis, it is as much for your satisfaction as my own, that I have now given this example. You shall be judges of it yourself, by the good treatment you shall meet with till you are exchange'd. As for this wretch, I will send him bound hand and foot to Daluca without any ransom. I set no value upon him, and should be sorry he should be compar'd to the meanest of my soldiers who are prisoners. The king, in reality, sent him immediately to the first city of the kingdom of Memphis, where he knew the governor was a creature of Daluca. Thoris, upon his arrival, begg'd he might be conceal'd from the eyes of every one till he prov'd his innocence. This the governor readily comply'd with, and immediately dispatch'd a messenger to the queen to know what he should do with him. The queen, perceiving herself chastiz'd in the person of her general, sent, with all diligence, orders to this governor, to make a shew of all imaginable kindness to Thoris under close confinement, and to promise him from her a speedy justification : but that he should publish

lish every where to the world, that the queen would bring him to a trial. That, however, at the end of three days, he should cause him to be strangled in his bed by men whom he could depend on; and that afterwards he should spread abroad that he dy'd of grief. All this was perform'd to a tittle.

THE governor of Coptos had resolv'd not to write to the king till the evening of the day following the double battle which happen'd under the walls of the city, that he might employ the time of his delay in making all possible enquiry, and to gather all the news he could concerning Sethos. He had caus'd all the bodies upon which any marks of distinction were found, to be separated from the rest; for that not only Sethos, but three of the young lords his companions, were not return'd from the battle. Before they were put into the catacombs of Coptos, he caus'd more distinguish'd and honourable exequies to be perform'd for these than for the other, being persuaded that Sethos, tho' unknown, was among them. He at last wrote a letter to the king, bath'd in tears, in which he gave a particular account of all that had pass'd in that unhappy night, and to the moment he took pen in hand. The king, when he came to the article of his son's death, fell in a swoon. The queen, who had receiv'd this news by her emissaries, fifteen hours before him, having

having been from that time always near his person; did all she could to recover him. As soon as he came to himself; he turn'd towards her, and in a tone, mix'd with grief and anger; said: Oh ! madam; these are the fruits of your pernicious administration ; from this moment I deprive you of it. Go, and shut yourself up in one of your most distant palaces, and let me never see you more. The queen gave way to this storm, and retir'd: but before she departed, and took her two sons with her, to a house of pleasure she had at ten leagues distance from the capital, she establish'd a private intelligence with those, who looking upon her as mother to the present heir to the crown, and knowing the force of her policy, plainly perceiv'd she would always be in some consideration, and hop'd to see her again in greater power after her return than before her exile. The king, in the mean time, instituted that very day a council of men of pretty good intentions. This council will maintain the kingdom, during some of the next ensuing years, in a middle situation between prosperity and weakness; but which, approaching something nearer to the latter than the former, will bring it to the very brink of its ruin, engag'd in a foreign war ; which will be the principal subject of the last book of this history.

Assoon

AS SOON as this council was establish'd, Oforoth, who had yet some hopes of hearing from his son again, imagining he must be stray'd away in the confusion of a night-battle, wrote to the king of Thebes. He intreated him to extend the generosity he had shewn, in being concern'd at the death of his son, so far as to cause enquiry to be made after him among the prisoners which might have been made by the several nations who serv'd under him. He inform'd him, that his son had a ring on his finger, the stone of which was an emerald; whereupon was represented a Horus, of whom one hand seem'd stretch'd out to another that held it, which was that of the late queen Nephte, under the figure of Isis, and had been separated from the rest of the stone, and made a ring for her; tho' he did not know what was become of that ring. That Horus held one finger of his right hand on his mouth; but that one part of his garment seem'd to be held by another hand, which was his own under the figure of Osiris, that he himself wore as a ring on his own finger. That, in short, if by a proclamation of these signs, prince Sethos might be brought to light; he offer'd for his ransom not only the whole Nome of Coptos, which he immediately resign'd to him, for the sake of peace, which he was resolv'd to purchase, but moreover

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the half of the remainder of his kingdom; an immense price for the person of his son alone. As soon as the king of Thebes receiv'd this letter, he order'd the contents of it to be publish'd in every place where prisoners of war could have been carry'd, promising besides in his own name an extraordinary reward to those who should restore this prince, if, perhaps, he might not be dead.

THIS proclamation was publish'd, as in other places, at Compasis, a city of the Western or Egyptian Arabia, seven or eight leagues distance from Coptos, where the Arabians, who had taken Azares, had carry'd him. They knew nothing of his being a slave. On the contrary, having taken him fighting with an incredible courage, and being charm'd with his presence of mind on the road from the field of battle to Compasis, they look'd upon him as a person of distinction, and resolv'd to conceal him from the enquiries the king of Thebes might make after prisoners of note. This opinion, which he had at first rais'd in them, he kept up in the two or three chosen men who guarded him. So, when the proclamation came to them, he thought he had room enough to say: My lords of Arabia, tho' I am an Egyptian, I have always had a natural propensity to your nation. You have already an evidence of it in the ease with which I speak
 3 your

your tongue. It is not yet time for me to tell you who I am. I have not the ring here describ'd; but, if you are wise and secret, I'll give an account of it in another place. Carry me only on the other side of the Red-sea to the great Arabians, from whom you are descended. I am dissatisfy'd with the administration of Memphis, as you are with that of Thebes; we may be of mutual advantage one to the other. These Arabians being astonish'd at this discourse, conceiv'd a new respect for their prisoner. They instantly led him by private ways to the haven of Berenice, where they embark'd him privately, as himself had desir'd; and having landed him at the port of Badios in Arabia Felix, some days afterwards he was conducted honourably to Meriaba, where the kings of that country held their residence.

THE fate of Sethos, who was not dead, as was suppos'd, had not been less singular. Some Ethiopian soldiers had made him prisoner towards the conclusion of the battle; they had perceiv'd a breath of life, which an hour's time had recover'd in him. Tho' they did not know him for the prince of Memphis, his noble stature, and the fineness of the steel of his armour, made them believe they should get a great ransom for this prisoner. Sethos therefore, not yet come to himself, was carry'd by these Barbarians to

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a city,

a city, call'd in our antient itineraries, Phœnicon *, twenty miles from Coptos on the way to the Red-sea. The Phœnician merchants had a settlement there of such importance, that it gave name to the place. The Ethiopian soldiers had pitch'd upon this place to carry the wounded men to, because the commerce of precious stones, with which they furnish'd the Phœnicians, made them very much esteem'd by them. There the Ethiopian soldiers stripp'd Sethos of his armour and garments, and threw away his initiate's vest, which was unknown to them, and all over bloody. They afterwards committed him to the care of some Phœnician physicians, of whom they made use themselves for their sick. These physicians, being of a nation more civiliz'd than the Ethiopians, took a peculiar care of this prisoner, whose wound had happily not prejudic'd his nobler parts. They were concern'd for him more on the account of his understanding, which soon was manifest, than for the orders they had receiv'd on his account. Sethos carefully concealing his name and birth from them, till he was able to judge what course to take, pretended to be a common soldier of the army of Memphis, call'd, Cheres: So that the Ethiopians, who came from time to time to enquire after him, began to cool on his ac-

* See the Geography of Cellarius, de Africa.

count. The Phœnicians taking advantage of this distaste, propos'd their selling him to them. The bargain was soon made ; and Sethos, without yet saying any thing, from a prisoner of war, became a slave. His new masters waited only till he was in some measure recover'd, to carry him to the white Port on the Red-sea, where they were to embark for a long voyage.

HE was yet at Phœnicon, where, without making himself known, he had heard the false report which was spread of his death ; the sorrow it had caus'd in the city of Coptos ; the concern the king of Thebes had on that account, and the vengeance he had taken for it ; when the publication of his father's letter was brought into the very chamber where he lay. The mention made in it of his ring, made him cast his eyes upon his hand the first time since his wound ; and seeing that wanting, he stifled the first inclination he had to discover himself : But when, in the continuance of the letter, he understood that Osoroth offer'd the half of his kingdom for his ransom, the unreasonableness of that inspired him with the resolution of concealing himself yet more, and rather to bury himself alive, than be the cause of dismembring, in so frightful a manner, the second and most glorious monarchy of Egypt. As soon as

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the letter was read quite thro', he could not forbear saying aloud ; That such a prisoner, if he was yet living, would ruin his father's kingdom before he came to the succession ; and that it would be a happiness for Oforoth, if his son remain'd dead, as it was believ'd. This young prince strengthen'd himself in these generous sentiments, in the hopes of returning sooner or later to Memphis in a more favourable and glorious manner ; by a reflection on the dangers which the ill-will of the queen, whereof he had just had so terrible a proof, would expose him to every day, if he return'd to his own country ; and, perhaps, yet more, by a private satisfaction arising from an idea of a long voyage he was going to undertake with these navigators, who were generally good friends to the Egyptians, from whom they took their rise, and who shew'd a particular regard for him. To say yet more, he depended upon his initiation for a supply of all the virtues of which he might have occasion under a disguise, and an exile perillous, tho' prudent. To prevent therefore any importunate enquiries, he press'd his new masters to convey him immediately to the haven where they were to embark. They did it the very same day, by means of a litter, carry'd by men, to prevent the motion he must have suffer'd in any other carriage.

THUS

THUS the king of Thebes wrote to the king of Memphis, that all his enquiries, of which he gave him the particulars, were in vain. That he accepted of the Nome of Coptos, the only cause of the war, as having of old belong'd to the kings his predecessors: But that if even he had been so happy to find his son again, whom the governor of Coptos believ'd he had bury'd, he should not have rated the ransom of a prince, whose memory he himself honour'd, at a higher price than that of a reasonable peace.





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ETHOS, whom we shall call Cheres throughout the whole course of his voyage, in conformity to the name he had given himself, found at his arrival at the white Port a fleet of fifteen vessels, mann'd with ten thousand Phœnicians. The kings of Egypt, according to sundry testimonies of antiquity, made use of this people to carry on a trade with foreign nations, and to navigate their
their

their own ships in distant seas. After having in vain attempted to cut the isthmus, which separates the Mediterranean from the Red-sea *, they had confin'd themselves to some canals, capable only of receiving vessels of a middling burden. So they were oblig'd to let the Phœnicians have some ports of the Red-sea, from whence they had a communication with the Indies. They had even about six years before made a very considerable settlement in the famous island of Taprobane, (now Ceylon) situate at the end of that great peninsula which separates the Indus from the Ganges. Besides the affairs of commerce, which carry'd them thither every year, they were going this time to carry succour to their colony, whom the kings of the island threatned with an approaching expulsion. So this fleet, tho' consisting of merchant-men, was equipp'd for war. Cheres, as yet stretch'd out on his litter, was carry'd by them who bought him on board, of their general; to whom they presented him as an Egyptian taken prisoner at the battle of Coptos by certain Ethiopian soldiers, who had sold him to them for a sum of money. He call'd himself a common soldier, who had indeed been reclaim'd by nobody: But, added

* Sesostris desisted from this undertaking; and Nechus, who afterwards attempted it, lost one hundred and twenty-thousand men about it. Vid. Marsh. pag. 376, & 531.

they,

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they, for the understanding and parts, which were visible in him, they hop'd, after his recovery, which advanc'd apace, their general would be glad to have him in his service. He receiv'd this prisoner very favourably, and told him, that the Egyptians, tho' of the meanest rank, were always treated handsomely by them. That he might recover at his ease; and that he should have no other employment impos'd on him than what he should choose himself. They set sail the very next day. The wind, which was, during the whole voyage, equally favourable, was no impediment to the patient's recovery. After two days he began to get up for some hours, to acquire a knowledge in navigation, by applying what he saw put in practice, without saying any thing, to the principles which he knew better than those who made use of them. He heard, with pleasure, the sailors, who, as they coasted Egypt, and the most northern part of Ethiopia, nam'd successively those nations, a knowledge of whom he had attain'd to by geography. Such were the Troglodytes, so call'd from the caverns in which they dwelt, to screen themselves from the excessive heat of their climate: The Adulites, slaves who had escap'd out of Egypt, and built a fort there, call'd, Aduliton. The southern Blemyes, men whose heads were so low and squat, that the first who discover'd them said, they had none at all;

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all; and that their eyes, nose, and mouth were on the upper part of their breasts. They shew'd the dwellings of other people, who were no otherwise distinguish'd one from the other, than by their different sorts of diet: As the Risophagi, who subsisted wholly on roots: The Ichthyophagi, who being border'd on the sea-side, by an inaccessible shore, and towards the land by frightful precipices, have no manner of communication with other men, and live only on fishing *: The Struthiophagi, a little farther within land, who pass their lives in hunting the Struthio-camelus, a great bird, with the feet of a camel, with which they throw stones behind them at those who pursue them, and that make no other use of their wings, which are very short, but to run the lighter.

BEFORE they arriv'd at the Streights, they came near to the Sabeian Arabia, otherwise call'd, Arabia Felix, by reason of the beauty of its meadows, but above all, for the abundance and variety of its aromatick plants. The approach to this excellent country is known long before you discover land. Diodorus expresses himself very eloquently on this subject: " Nothing, says he, can equal the pleasure which this compound

* Diodorus mentions these Ichthyophagi; but he seems to place them in Arabia.

" fragrancy

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“ fragraney gives even to those who but coast
 “ this shore, and partake of it at a distance.
 “ The land-breezes bring these precious ex-
 “ halations from the midst of the country
 “ even to the sea : they steal, as it were,
 “ into the very innermost of the soul, and
 “ proceeding actually from the very bosom
 “ of nature, they give travellers an idea of
 “ the ambrosia, which poets feign to be the
 “ delight of the gods.”

THEY at last arriv'd at the Streights, of which Cheres heard some of the ship's crew saying, that it was not long since they were believ'd to be clos'd up. Indeed, a certain Damastes, mention'd by Strabo, had been of that opinion. They gave to this passage, at its discovery, a name of evil omen, by calling it, *Sthenæ Deiræ*, the fatal Streights, or the rolling Promontory of Ethiopia, or the isles which meet there : Some authors even call it, *Ostium Luctus* *, the Haven of Mourning. Not that it is so very difficult or dangerous to pass; but in these first times, when long navigations were very hazardous, they thereby signify'd, that those who had the presumption to pass these Streights, in order to go farther, run the risk of never returning.

* This is the signification of its Arabian name, Babel-mendebeh.

THEY

THEY enter'd, however, into this sea, which washes the southern coasts of Arabia to the Persian gulph, and to which the ancients gave the name of Red-sea, rather than to that which is inclos'd between Egypt and Arabia, seldom calling the latter otherwise than the Arabian Gulph. Continuing their coast toward the east, they row'd within sight of the coasts of Carmania and Gedrosia, maritime provinces of Persia; and they discover'd to the south of them that number of little islands [the Maldives] which the sea does but just separate one from the other, and some of which are not a furlong in circumference: Ptolemy accounts three hundred seventy-eight; but some travellers affirm there are twelve thousand, which they say are all subject to one king.

As they had been above a month on their passage, Cheres was perfectly recover'd. The general, call'd Astartus, a man of knowledge and experience, and even known to Cheres by his fame, observ'd more and more something noble in his physiognomy, and a certain air of distinction in his whole person. He gave great attention to his answers, which, without departing from that modesty, which his present condition seem'd to require, shew'd him possess'd of a great elevation of mind and thought; but he was truly surpriz'd at
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the extent of his knowledge, which had already serv'd to redress some observations of the pilots by rules or methods surer and more agreeable than theirs; and which seem'd equal in all the natural sciences, as well as in the history, laws and manners as well of Egypt, as of all other nations whom they undertook to question him about. Cheres manag'd this advantage with art, and only saying upon every occasion what was necessary, he made his knowledge appear inexhaustible: For, in short, tho' he would not be known for the person he was, he did not refuse the esteem and consideration he could attain to naturally, and without seeming to seek it. All the reputation he had gain'd as Sethos, was of no service to him, and he was oblig'd to raise a new fame as Cheres. However, tho' alone, depriv'd of every thing, and having lost to the very least tokens of his birth, he did not despair, in the great views he had for the benefit of mankind, to see himself soon chief of that fleet, into which he came as a slave. The general, being at an uncertainty with regard to him, without changing, in outward appearance, the condition of a soldier and prisoner, which Cheres had himself taken, acted in other respects with him, as with a person from whom he ought to bring no reproaches upon himself for the future; and he put in practice, on his account, the very wise maxim of respecting the

the unknown. To say true; the name of an Egyptian, kept up in this stranger by a personal merit, was sufficient for Astartus to make the chief officers of his fleet approve his conduct. Even these began to regard Cheres as a young man of noble birth, whose too distinguish'd education had made the queen of Memphis jealous of him ; so they made no difficulty of conferring with him, and they were even solicitous to engage him in the interest of the Phœnicians.

THE time soon came which made them more sensible of the purchase they had made in him. They already coasted the western shore of the peninsula on this side of the Ganges, at the point of which is the promontory, call'd, Cory. Opposite to this promontory, at the distance of sixty miles towards the east is the northern port of Taprobane [Ceylon]. This island, which was formerly call'd Pale-simundus, is now call'd Salica. If I would give an example of the variations which have happen'd in the names of most places in the world, and of the difficulty there is in knowing the present world in the antient geographers, I should add, that the first name of this island was Lamcab, * or Lamca ; the second, Ilanarus ; and the third, Tratane ; of which, it is said, the Greeks have made

* See the notes on the lesser geogr. of the Oxford edition, cap. i. pag. 76.

Taprobane.

Taprobane. I purposely omit the history of Jambolus *, who having been put, with his companions only, into a bark, by the Ethiopians, as expiatory victims, pretend to have landed safe on this island; because this history appears in that author, with all the absurdity of a fable. Taprobane was accounted, a long while, the biggest island in the Southern Ocean; whether it was that those which are larger were not then known, or whether it was suppos'd to have been of a greater extent than it really is. And indeed, the charts, made according to the geographical graduations of Ptolemy, extend it under the Equator, tho' it be at about ten degrees northern distance from it.

AFTER a very fortunate voyage, more with the help of their sails than their oars; the Phœnicians were at the height of Cory, when the rising sun discover'd to their view, on the side of the island, a fleet twice as large as theirs. They easily perceiv'd, by the difference of their flags, that the three kings of Taprobane had combin'd to oppose their passage. Astartus, who began to be uneasy that no boat came off to him, to inform him in what condition the affairs

* Diodorus mentions this author, and his voyage, towards the end of his second book.

of the colony were, did not doubt but they were entirely destroy'd. Not daring to take upon himself alone to attack the enemy at such a disadvantage, and without having had an opportunity of speaking with any of the Phœnicians of the island, he assembled a council of war. He made Cheres stay in the cabin, under pretence of doing some service. The plurality of votes was for returning; For, in short, said they, if our country-men are exterminated, as their silence, with regard to us, gives us reason to believe, we have not brought along with us sufficient provisions, to make a new settlement in Taprobane alone, and by force. If we are defeated, we shall have no retreat, and victory itself will be of no service to us. Astartus, who had a private commission, but in good form, which constituted him intendant of the eastern commerce, annex'd to the employ of the chief of the colony, with whom they were not satisfy'd, was uneasy to find their opinions run this way. Before he gave his vote, he bethought himself to ask Cheres, as if by chance, whether the Egyptians, in such a case, would be of the same mind? Cheres coming nearer, and standing, thus address'd himself to the officers; My lords, tho' I am but a stranger in your company, I have, methinks, a greater reluctance to be so near Taprobane,

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and not to land there, than you have to return into Phœnicia, without being able to give the least account of your country-men. If they are murder'd, don't you owe to the interest of your nation, which has settlements in many other places, the example of chastising their murderers? And, if your brethren are in chains, don't you owe to them your utmost endeavours for their deliverance? Are not you better combatants by land or sea than these Barbarians whom you fear? Valour and experience in war are very little worth, if they won't be an equivalent for a number of ships which does not exceed the double of yours. The general, to encourage Cheres yet more, said; Your arguments would be just, if we had a prince Sethos with us, whose genius and courage might serve instead of the soldiers we want. But the greater part of our company is compos'd of men fitter for trade than war, and who would be more assiduous in preserving their merchandizes than in acquiring glory. My lord, reply'd Cheres, all Egyptians, at least those who have been bred in the same school of virtue, and who have pass'd the same trials, are equal. Attempt the combat only, I will endeavour to keep up among you the honour of my country, and perhaps shall encourage your soldiers to revenge theirs. These words, spoken in a tone which Cheres had not before assum'd, made the whole

whole council come to a resolution of attacking the enemy's fleet. All the officers returning to their vessels, carry'd the same resolution thither, with which Cheres had inspir'd them. They told their people, that the gods had sent a man amongst them, in the person of an Egyptian, who had inherited the wisdom and valour of prince Sethos, whose fame they had heard so much of at the White Port; and that with such an assistance victory could never fail them.

CHERES had already put on armour, the lightest he could find in the vessel, and had even cover'd himself with it but in part, that he might be more active: but he had provided himself with a large sabre. He had desir'd the general to let him have the office of carrying his orders throughout the whole fleet, to have, by that means, a continual communication with him, upon all that might offer to be done in the heat of the battle. To begin the exercise of his function, Cheres went, within the space of an hour, to every vessel in the Phœnician fleet. He did not always make use of a boat to pass from one ship to the other, but, putting in practice the agility he had acquir'd, he jump'd from one to the other of those which were nearest together. He generally descended from the highest decks by

the planks on the outside, with such dexterity as astonish'd the most hardy sailors. The surprize which he thereby caus'd to men, who were very little accusom'd to the most common exercises of the Egyptians, contributed as much as his discourses to heighten their hopes. In most armies, said he, soldiers look upon their adversaries as enemies to their prince or general, and not as their own. Thence it is that they fight only to avoid reproach or punishment, to deserve their pay, or, at most, strictly to accomplish their duty, and to withdraw from peril as soon as is possible. You, on the contrary, as traders, at two thousand leagues distance from your country, ought to regard these islanders as your personal enemies, whose victory, if you suffer it to be on their side, would be much more fatal to every one of you than to your king or your commander. Defend yourselves in this consideration: you won't give a stroke in vain; each of you will, in some measure, clear himself, danger will disappear in your own eyes, and you will find yourselves conquerors, perhaps, without the loss of one of your lives. The combat began about three or four in the afternoon; the islanders began by shooting a vast number of arrows, weapons which are often lost by land, and almost always by sea. The Phœnicians withstood this not very perilous storm, without doing any thing,

thing, but warding it off as much as they could. When the ships drew nearer, they began to make use of their long poles with iron spikes at the end of them. This was the beginning of the combat, hand to hand; and the Phœnicians, remembering the exhortation Cheres had given them, overthrew a good number of their enemy, without losing a man themselves. They at last came to boarding.

THE people of Taprobane had, in their naval combats, a custom, which gave their courage an appearance of ferocity and despair, but which was sometimes fatal to themselves. They never boarded an enemy's vessel but they endeavour'd to fasten it to their own, by means of grappling-irons made for that purpose; so that if they would, afterwards, they could not, without a great deal of pains, disengage themselves. Thus the ship that was defeated was of course a prize to the other. Cheres being inform'd of this custom was resolv'd to take the advantage of it. The general, after having regulated in his presence the general dispositions for the battle, had declar'd to him, that he had his authority to go every where, as he thought fit, and to give orders as from him, for every thing he should judge necessary, 'till he recall'd this general order. But if he had not given him

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this authority, he would have taken it more than once in every ship he was in. For, on sharp and perilous occasions, the man who is boldest and most active is always the most follow'd. Cheres, nevertheless, leaving the officers in all things the honour and extent of their functions, only told them what was necessary to be done, to second him in what he might undertake alone, and as a common foldier.

THE vessel he was then in was the first that was fasten'd. As soon as he saw the islanders grappling-irons fix'd, and that the attack was begun on each side, without entrance, he leap'd over their heads into the middle of their vessel, and with his sabre, which he knew how to manage with a wonderful dexterity, he made himself an impenetrable buckler, which dazled the eyes of every one, and made a terrible havock among all who were within his reach. This frightful massacre drew the enemy from their ship's side to defend themselves in the middle; the Phœnicians, rushing in at the same time, made a terrible slaughter, and soon became masters of the vessel. In the short time they were employ'd in securing those who had deliver'd up their arms, they saw Cheres doing just the same thing in another vessel, tho' they had not perceiv'd which way he went out of their ship, or how

how he got into the other. He pursu'd his victory in this manner in five or six, which all became prey to the Phœnicians, while the other vessels, which he could not get at, defended and attack'd in a different manner, but every where with great advantage. The islanders were not, however, as yet, discourag'd. In the mean time the day drew near its end, and the night, which in these climates succeeds almost without any twilight *, was going to put an undecided end to the combat. Cheres, who had foreseen this inconvenience, had caus'd all sorts of combustible matters to be got together, and design'd to put an end to a victory by fire, which the sword had not sufficiently advanc'd. He repair'd on board the general's vessel, to inform him of his design. He propos'd to him to sacrifice three of the vessels they had taken, the prisoners of which might be put on board of another. These three he propos'd to fill with combustible matters, which should not take fire 'till a certain fix'd time, and after the Phœnicians, who at first should appear on the deck, were got into the boats which must be in readiness to receive them. The obscurity of the night would, said he, favour this design, and soon afterwards these burn-

* For want of a greater density in the Atmosphere in hot Countries.

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ing vessels, if they should have no other success, would serve at least to give light enough to continue the combat. The general having approv'd the plan, Cheres departed to put it in execution. He chose for each of the three vessels forty of the bravest and most active men of the fleet, and inform'd them, that as soon as the sun was set, their business was to advance near enough to the enemy's fleet, to give the islanders room to board them on both sides. He order'd them to make an appearance of resistance, while they were fastning their grappling irons, according to custom ; but that done, they should immediately run to the poops of their three vessels, and let themselves down by ropes, which he had caus'd to be plac'd there for that purpose, into the boats which should be ready to receive them, and which he would command himself. All this was executed at the time and in the manner propos'd. The three vessels having taken fire, soon communicated it to those which were grappled to them on the right and on the left, and had the appearance of three floating *Ætna's*. The islanders held it no longer at this sight ; but fearing that several other ships of the Phœnician fleet might conceal the same snares, they dispers'd, by force of sails and oars, some one way, some the other, as they saw themselves

themselves pursu'd by the Phœnician vessels.

THE general seeing night come, and perceiving the flames of the burning vessels insensibly decrease, would not venture further in the dark, and without knowing what fortifications the enemy might have on the shore. He order'd the signal to be given for his vessels to retire, and place themselves in a line 'till morning. Cheres was the first to obey this order, and soon appear'd before Astartus. As they were beholding together a remainder of the islanders, who with lamentable cries were jumping into the sea from the tops of their burning vessels, others who were yet swimming, and again others who were drowning; Cheres, tho' the author of their misfortune by his invention, told Astartus, that he could not reflect upon the cruelties of war without some grief. That it was not to be excus'd in a king or the head of a republick, but by the extreme justice of his cause; and that it ought not to be resolv'd upon, but with a view to sacrifice some private persons to the general good of society. But soon retaking a more gay aspect, he added, That his grief for the fate of these wretches, whom he did not know, was easily remov'd by the shouts of joy with which his victorious fleet eccho'd on every side. That he
very

very much approv'd the orders he had given for wine and other refreshments to be distributed to his soldiers. That such indulgences properly plac'd made them forget a long sequel of toils, and encourag'd them to expose themselves the next moment to new dangers. Astartus took all these maxims in good part, and was even charm'd to know the character of his Egyptian to the bottom, that he might employ him more to the purpose. He invited the chief officers of his fleet to a sumptuous repast on board his ship. Cheres was plac'd in an honourable manner at the table, where, as well by his discourse as his noble, discreet, and winning behaviour, he, without exciting any uneasiness or jealousy, confirm'd them in an opinion of his being every way superior to them.

THE general, whose mind was justly taken up with reflecting on the continuance of his enterprize, sent them all away at midnight, with orders to let their ships companies immediately betake themselves to rest, that they might be fit to enter into action again in six hours, and at day-break. Cheres obey'd like the rest, and was soon plung'd into a profound sleep, after the fatigues of the foregoing day. The design of Astartus was to employ the night in examining the prisoners about the state of the colony,

lony, of which he had, 'till then, no news. He was just upon his departure to the vessels where they were confin'd, when his outermost centry let him know, that two men in a small boat had made the usual signal, to acquaint him, they desir'd to speak with the general. He order'd them to be brought to him, and knowing them, notwithstanding their wither'd and pale countenances, to be two officers, who had formerly serv'd under him, he shut himself up with them alone in his council-chamber. The eldest of them said to him, My lord, we come here as deputies from Pheletes, the chief of our colony, who six months ago engag'd in an enterprize which appear'd of advantage to our nation. It has since been attended with fatal consequences. But if you pursue the victory you have just obtain'd yet a little farther; this undertaking, which has hitherto succeeded but badly, may have, from this night, an happy accomplishment. You know, my lord, with what readiness the islanders of Taprobane suffer'd us to settle at Galiba, the fairest, and most convenient for us, of all their maritime cities. From thence we have, in the course of the five first years of our settlement, carry'd on a profitable trade to the Chersonesus Aurea [Siam] to the three Sabadibæ [Sumatra, Java, and Borneo] and even to the kingdom of Serica [Northern China.]

[China]. Our chief observing, that besides the great number of Phœnicians which were in Galiba, our trade had drawn thither a great many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, all at our command, he projected the design of making himself master of the city. Thinking every thing was lawful against Barbarians, he took the opportunity of a dark night to surprize the governor and garison of Galiba. The first was kill'd in his bed, and the latter put to the sword; and having possess'd ourselves of the citadel, the rest of the city immediately submitted to us. All went well so far; and our chief had even taken the time when the king of the Galibians, (whose capital is, however, in the country, and is call'd Anurogrammum) was at war with the two other kings of the island, and when it was thought it would be acceptable to them. But, on the contrary, as soon as they knew it, they at once concluded a peace with him, and promis'd him their assistance to drive us out of the city, of which we had taken possession. Pheletes's design was not to inform the court of Phœnicia of his project 'till it was accomplish'd, to please the king the more with the relation of a conquest already made. But being inform'd that the three kings had immediately begun their march to retake Galiba, he did not presume to let them know at Tyre the true cause of the rupture

rupture between the islanders and us, for fear of being reproach'd with having undertaken an ill-concerted project. He only entreated the king to send him a ready and powerful succour against the kings of the island, who threaten'd our colony with a speedy expulsion. These letters were sent away a little before the siege was form'd: and he took care that there were no other letters but his in the packet, which he sent by a trusty messenger. But since that time it has been impossible either for him or us to have any communication from without. The kings caus'd a triple chain to be extended, from one point to the other, of the two moles which form the entrance into the port, supported from space to space by flat boats. Their ships cruize continually before this chain, to shut out all succours that might be sent us from Phœnicia, and my boat had not escap'd, but under favour of the disorder which your victory has caus'd in their fleet. I must now inform you, my lord, that the enemy has just beyond, and to the south of Galiba, a convenient bason, fenc'd on the sea-side by a long chain of rocks. Thither the shatter'd remains of their fleet are already retir'd. On the other side, towards the north, opposite to which you now are, is a high plain, and at the end of it are downs, the foot of which is wash'd by the sea. From thence it is their land-forces
besiege

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besiege the city. The height and thickness of the walls has defended it against them for almost six months. But we must confess, that the famine to which they have reduc'd us, by investing us so closely both by sea and land, had put us out of a condition to hold out a week longer ; when from the tops of our towers we perceiv'd your fleet, as an auspicious star, rising to preserve our lives. Now, my lord, what our chief proposes to you, and begs you would put in execution this very night, to compleat the work you have so happily begun, is this. A little more to the north you will be, at about twenty furlongs from the city, in an excellent road, and will have before you a low shore of the breadth of a furlong. There, under favour of the darkness, and with the help of your boats, we desire you would land all the armed men you have. I offer to be their guide, while my companion will return with your answer to the chief of the colony : you will run no hazard in the descent, since your victory has dispers'd the enemy's vessels which defended that coast. In the mean time, the soldiers of your fleet being landed, and getting, by an easy ascent, up to the downs, will have the army of the besiegers between them and our garison, which will make a vigorous sally upon the enemy, at the same time that you attack them behind.

THE

THE general, not a little surpriz'd at what he had heard, said to the officer; I believe, dear comrade, you yourself are sensible of the rashness of this undertaking of your chief. The king, our master, when he sent him into these seas, gave him a full power to do all that he should think expedient for the good of the colony; and if he did not tie him down to ask and wait for the orders of the court for too distant expeditions; even this confidence renders him more blameable by the ill use he has made of it. Be it however as it will, I consent to pursue my victory. The animosity of the kings of the island against us must now be so great, that, without dispute, nothing but their entire defeat can bring them to a resolution of allowing us to reside in Taprobane, even upon the footing we were before. The intent of the Phœnician court was not that you should make a conquest of it, of less advantage to our trade than the favour and amity of a people so friendly as these islanders were to us. But our settlement being once made, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, the king of Tyre will now maintain it, either by good-will or by force. I shall therefore immediately undertake the descent you propose. I accept of you for my guide, and will instantly send your companion back to carry my answer to

to Pheletes. I only desire your chief, said Astartus, speaking to the second deputy, to attempt nothing before day; and even not to attack the enemy 'till I shall give him the signal, by hoisting red colours, that I am ready to fall upon them on my side. The general accordingly sent away the second deputy immediately, who got into the city as happily as he came out: but turning to the first, he said; For you who remain with us, I can't enough recommend to you an exact silence to our whole fleet, with regard to the conduct of your chief. We have an Egyptian here with us, a man of a distinguish'd merit, who conceals himself under the form of a common soldier of Memphis, made prisoner in a battle which his king lost against the king of Thebes, a little before our departure. It is to this Egyptian you owe your deliverance: It was he who determin'd the officers of our fleet to hazard a combat which appear'd so unequal to them: It was he, in short, who, by his skill and courage, has made the victory turn to the least in number. But since he has been in my vessel, I have observ'd such principles of virtue in him, as would not favour the proceedings of Pheletes. If he should have any knowledge of them, it would extremely allay his fervency, and, of course, that of our soldiers, whom he encourages, by his example and discourses:

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In a word, it is for your interest, that he be not made acquainted with the cause of your misfortune, 'till after your deliverance.

AT the same time, Astartus, tho' his fleet had enjoy'd but three hours rest, instead of six, which he had propos'd, gave orders for the descent. How numerous soever the boats were which they had in their vessels, the troops they had landed could not be upon the downs 'till sun-rising. The enemy, having seen them at a distance marching in good order, sent immediately three heralds to them. The chief of them, directing his discourse to Astartus, who was at the head of his army, with Cheres by his side, said ; My lord ! the three kings of Taprobane, who are on the other side of the intrenchments which you see before you, propose to you, by me, before you engage, to accept of a conference with them in the midst of this plain : They will come thither, attended only by a guard of sixty men, counting even the lords who will accompany them, and will think it very proper for you to take the same number on your side. They offer their word, and desire yours, That the conference be held quietly ; and that, if the peace can't be concluded in it, that hostilities may not begin again on either side, 'till two hours after it be broke up.

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They

They earnestly intreat you will cause Pheletes, the chief of the Phœnician colony, who is shut up in Galiba, which we besiege, to be present at this conference. They will allow him all the safe-guard necessary for him to pass our camp, unless you chuse to send for him in one of your vessels. Our kings are, against their wills, greatly at variance with Phœnicia. The fact alone carries its decision with it, and we have no distrust of the equity either of your king, or of you : but as either side may be prejudic'd in their own cause, our kings are willing to accept of a third as arbiter. The fame of the Egyptians in general is spread throughout the whole world : but some prisoners, which we yesterday took from you, have given us such encomiums of the singular virtues of an Egyptian who is in your company, and who contributed so much to your victory, that our kings are willing to refer every thing to his judgment. Astartus immediately answer'd ; That he consented to all the kings desir'd : That he would send one of his vessels to fetch Pheletes, with only ten of the chief officers he had with him in the city, and that he would lessen by so many the number of those who should accompany him : That he would suffer the Egyptian to give his opinion on the dispute in question ; and that he himself had a decision to give, with which, he flatter'd
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himself,

himself, both parties would be satisfy'd. He even added ; That being yet the only one in his army who knew the bottom of the case, he would not prepossess any one, but give their judgments a greater liberty upon an affair which would not be brought to light 'till the conference.

THE heralds being departed, extremely satisfy'd with their answer from Astartus, he instantly dispatch'd one of his vessels to fetch Pheletes, with ten of the chief officers of his colony. He was enraged, to find that a quarrel, which, under the present circumstances of things, seem'd to him so advantageous to be determin'd by force of arms, should degenerate into a treaty. He plainly perceiv'd it would not turn to his advantage : but he had reduc'd himself to a necessity of obeying a man, who seem'd to be come only to his assistance, above whom his employ would have plac'd him, in the natural course of things, and who, in the common situation of affairs, ought to have receiv'd orders from him.

IN the mean time both sides were preparing the spot of ground necessary for the conference : They pitch'd upon it at an equal distance between the intrenchments of the Taprobane army, and the first line of the Phœnician army. The islanders furnish'd

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a large

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a large tent, under which they might be shelter'd from the rays of the sun. Astartus, who perfectly knew how to treat with an enemy, was present himself at the regulation of every thing, and caus'd all the prerogatives of honour to be plac'd on that side destin'd for the three kings. He order'd their three seats to be plac'd upon an elevation, while there were on his side only benches set in a semicircle over-against other benches rang'd in the same manner for the lords of Taprobane, at the feet of their kings. Pheletes being come, both parties enter'd into the tent. Astartus took advantage, in a very graceful manner, of the right, which his victory had given him, to regulate in some measure the ceremonials of the assembly ; and, by his conduct, he prevented all those cavils which generally delay, and sometimes even break off, the most important treaties. On his side he plac'd Pheletes on his right-hand ; and next to him, on the same side, the ten officers of the colony. He himself sat next to Pheletes on the left-hand ; and in the same manner plac'd the ten chief officers of his fleet on his left-hand. Cheres, who was the last in their row at the bottom, was almost between the two nations, by the circular form of the benches.

EVERY

EVERY thing being thus dispos'd, the king of the Galibians, being seated in the middle of the two other, open'd the conference : He said, 'That tho' the two kings his allies, himself, and all the officers of the island who were in the tent, understood the Phœnician tongue, since the Phœnicians had settled in their island, yet it was some trouble to them to speak it : That therefore he hop'd Astartus and his officers would consent, that the herald, whom he had already sent as deputy to him, and who had dwelt a long time in Phœnicia, might speak in his place. This proposal having been accepted of, by a sign of general consent, the herald arose, and began first, by giving a lively image of the hospitality which the king of the Galibians had afforded the Phœnicians the first day, when their fleet, shatter'd with the tempest, appear'd before his port. He next shew'd the zeal with which he soon after had procur'd them the friendship of the two other kings of the island : But he expatiated far more upon the advantage the Phœnicians had drawn from their factory at Galiba, to carry on their trade to the most eastern shores of the Indian sea. He represented, that it was by the convenience of this factory the Phœnicians had enrich'd the present world with the discovery of Serica, farther from Taprobane east-

ward than Phœnicia is towards the west ; and that this new world had prodigiously increas'd their own riches, by that fine and shining wooll which certain precious insects produc'd on the leaves of trees, He did not forget the circumstance of so many strangers which the kings of Taprobane had receiv'd in all the ports of their island, upon the credit of the Phœnicians : That (said he) was the first cause of our misfortune and theirs. Without this perfidious assistance, their chief would never have attempted an undertaking, which we very well know was disapprov'd of by his principal officers here present. He massacred in one night the governor and the whole garison of Galiba. He made himself master of the city, an abode quieter and more delicious, before this attempt, for him and the Phœnicians, than for our inhabitants themselves. He has made of this general rendezvous of all the Indies, a place of famine and horror, Our kings having been oblig'd to invest this city on all sides, in order to retake it, have, with regret, reduc'd their own subjects to the greatest extremities ; because a single man, a traitor with respect to our citizens, and a tyrant with regard to his own countrymen, has persisted for six months, notwithstanding both, in an unwarrantable pretension. This is the only cause of the war we have made against the Phœnicians, and
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on which, Astartus, our kings accept of the virtuous Egyptian, whom you yourself have brought with you, as arbiter; they are willing to accept of him for their judge, tho' he be of a nation which has always declar'd itself a friend of your's, and which is even concern'd for its commerce and increase.

ASTARTUS answer'd; That, previous to every thing else, he thought it would be just, to hear the reasons and defence of Phelotes, if he thought fit to alledge any. Upon which, he arising with an appearance of anger, with which he endeavour'd to hide his confusion, spoke thus; I don't know whether it be with the consent of the king our master, that Astartus has accepted of a conference with the kings of Taprobane; at least, I think that the victory he obtain'd yesterday, and which might this day be follow'd by another, dispens'd him from taking so soon the ways of accommodation. He leaves me here no excuse for an attempt, which had been in his power to have render'd reasonable and glorious. The same decorum is not requir'd in war, as at a conference. It has never been a custom to ask the consent of a nation to take its cities or provinces; and it is generally the gods, and fortune, and not their conquerors, that vanquish'd people reproach for their fate. A military

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undertaking needs no other justification but its success. If the general himself, who is sent to my assistance, makes me fail in this, at a time when his own victory has render'd it secure, it is the king of Tyre, and not the kings of Taprobane, I shall trouble with my complaint. Pheletes having fate himself down again after these few words, Cheres rose up, and said ; 'The fortune of war, made me fall into the hands of the Phœnicians, and, which they, however, don't know, tho' since my captivity I have never been out of their sight, my choice alone has plac'd me in their company. I have reason to be satisfy'd with the regard they have been pleas'd to have for me, and which is far beyond the condition under which I myself have presented myself to them. I shan't boast that I have recompens'd their goodness by the services I render'd them yesterday, in the naval combat they gain'd over the kings of Taprobane. These services, from that moment, would become involuntary. The esteem I have for the Phœnician general, and for the officers who are under him, makes me believe they themselves disclaim their victory. Their attack at least, to which I confess I greatly contributed, was only grounded, as well on their part as mine, on the ignorance we were in of the real state of the dispute : But before Astartus discovers his resolution

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on this affair, which is now known, I shan't let the opportunity escape, of discovering myself, what every one may expect from me, during the whole course of my life. The gods, by making me captive, have increas'd the liberty of my soul ; and being depriv'd of all fortune's favours, I am more strictly devoted to the love of virtue and justice. I acted against you, O ye kings of Taprobane, while I thought you had exterminated from your island the Phœnicians, of whom we saw none appear before the battle. I decide against you, O ye Phœnicians, 'till you have punish'd the traitor, who has actually committed the same crime against the islanders, which I suspected them to be guilty of against you. At these words, Pheletes rose up in a fury, and said ; Astartus, when will you stop the mouth of this unknown person, your prisoner and slave, who takes upon him, in your presence, an authority which I should not suffer from you yourself? Cheres then taking that air of authority, which a distinguish'd birth, and heroick courage, are, upon all occasions, capable of giving a man who is possess'd of them, said ; I proclaim thy death, thou who speakest ; and my warrant is, the interest of thy nation, which is under a necessity thereby to establish its blemish'd honour, and to open again to its fleets the ports of every sea, which the example of thy treachery unpunish'd,

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unpurish'd, would keep for ever shut against them.

At this instant Astartus arose, and stretching out his hand between the two disputants, said ; 'Tis neither the one or the other of you two who will decide the matter ; but the king of Tyre, who is going to speak, by his orders, which I have about me. Ye kings of Taprobane, you will now see, that Egypt is not the only nation that knows what equity and justice is. As a faithful subject to my master, I should not fear either the wicked or the good, in the execution of his will ; but his wisdom is going to give peace to the Phœnicians, and to the Islanders. You would have sav'd yourselves the loss you suffer'd yesterday, if the confidence you put in the number of your vessels, had not hinder'd you from having recourse to a conference which you did not propose 'till this day. You gave us reason, against our will, to let you see the Phœnicians know how to make themselves fear'd by their enemies ; and they themselves will now shew you, that they know how to make themselves esteem'd by their allies. Astartus having finish'd this discourse, fate down in his place again, and taking the letters patent from the king of Tyre from under his cuirass, he gave them to his gentleman to read, who was plac'd standing
opposite

opposite to the herald who had spoken in the name of the kings of Taprobane. After the first lines, which were only the title, they imported, that the king gave commission to Astartus to carry his fleet, compos'd of fifteen ships, laden with merchandizes, and equipp'd for war, to Taprobane : That the forces of this fleet should be employ'd to support or re-establish the colony of that island, which was threaten'd with an expulsion, for reasons which they had but a confus'd notion of, and which seem'd to have been conceal'd by Pheletes the chief of the colony. The king said further, That he had shewn his acknowledgments in due time to the king of the Galibians, and to the two other kings of Taprobane, for the favourable reception they had given the Phœnicians at their first landing : but that this courtesy being at bottom no more than an observance of the laws of nature and nations, he insisted upon its being preserv'd, either by good-will, or force, upon the conditions formerly regulated, or that might for the future be regulated, as occasion requir'd : That the Phœnician nation made no difficulty of allowing that they obtain'd great advantages in trade, by their factory in Taprobane ; but that the islanders had likewise had a very great share in these advantages, by the gold and silver which had on this occasion circulated in their island,
and

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and by the vend of their cinamon, which the Phœnicians dispers'd throughout the whole world : That, with respect even to the troubles, the true circumstances of which were unknown at Tyre, the king, being willing to give all manner of satisfaction to his dear and much-honoured allies the kings of Taprobane, appointed Astartus chief of the Phœnician colony ; grounding this choice on the great services this commander had done him by sea and land ; but particularly on the prudence with which he had always behav'd himself among foreign nations, having more than once so gain'd the affections even of those people whom he had conquer'd, that they were enter'd into bonds of friendship and alliance with Phœnicia : That, with respect to Pheletes, of whom he was already inform'd that he was not belov'd by the islanders, and had been cruel to the Phœnicians themselves, he charg'd Astartus to go back to the rise of these suspicions and complaints ; and if he should find that Pheletes had been guilty only of imprudence, or involuntary failings, that he should send him back to Phœnicia, with the usual honours, promising him all manner of indulgence on the king's part : but if it appear'd that he had been the aggressor, and had offer'd the kings of Taprobane any injury that was capital, or tending to promote discord between the two people ;
that,

that, in such case, Astartus should form a council of war, compos'd of twenty of his principal officers, viz. ten of the colony, and ten of the fleet, in which he should preside : That Pheletes should be arraign'd before this council ; and the sentence there pronounc'd against him should be executed in the sight of the Phœnicians and the Islanders. At these words, Pheletes said ; I shall save you the trouble, and know how to punish myself for having attempted to serve my country. Immediately, preventing all dispositions that might have been made to stop him, he ran cross a distance of about forty paces between the tent and the brink of the downs, and threw himself into the sea.

THE end of this man, who was more blind than wicked, rais'd some sense of compassion in the whole assembly, which was in some confusion, waiting to see what would be the end of his running with so much precipitation out of the tent : However, the kings and Astartus caus'd the whole assembly, each on their own side, to take their places again, in order to come to a final resolution on affairs which began to change their face. They soon came to an agreement, That all things should be restor'd to the same condition they were in before this undertaking of Pheletes, whose condemna-
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tion was to secure more than ever a mutual confidence between the two nations. They were breaking-up, to go and publish these tidings to the besieged, and to the besiegers, when Cheres stepp'd forward, and intreated a moment's audience. Ye kings of Taprobane, (said he) and you my lords Phœnicians ! How urgent soever the publication of the peace, and the deliverance of the city, may be, allow me, now you are so happily assembled, to propose an undertaking equally advantageous to both nations. The gods seem to me to have prepar'd every thing for the execution of this design with which they have inspir'd me, to make the world acquainted with nations unknown, and to give you new allies. My views are towards Africa, in which my country is situated ; but it is to discover the southern part of it, with which the Indian seas will give you an easy communication from hence. Tho' I have not perform'd the voyage I propose, I have a peculiar knowledge of it, the source of which I am not allow'd to discover : but this I can assure you in general, I shall find nothing on all the coasts I propose to survey, but what I am already acquainted with. Give me a fleet of twelve vessels ; six of the Phœnicians, whom I name first, because I first devoted myself to their service ; and six of the Islanders, because their natural goodness,

ness, and their friendship for the Phœnicians, make them worthy to be partakers with them of the profits of this new commerce. These vessels must be equipp'd for war ; because among the people we shall meet with, there are some very untractable and unso- ciable, and such as are only fit to be your slaves. As for the ammunitions and provisions which we shall have occasion for, and advice-boats to bring you tidings of us, while we are compassing the coasts of Africa, these are articles which can't be regulated here, and for which you have all the leisure necessary, while we wait for the most proper season for our departure. The kings and Astartus answer'd almost at the same time, That they did not reject this proposal, and that they would examine it with him, as well in their separate as united councils ; but that, as he himself had insinuated, the most urgent at present, was, to go and bring joy to both nations, and to carry the besieged all manner of refreshments, which might make them forget the long continuance of the evils they had suffer'd.

A DESCRIPTION of the rejoicings which were made on both sides on this occasion is foreign from my main subject. I shall only say, that while the king of the Galibians and Astartus were entering the city in ceremony, Cheres rambled, out of curiosity, into several
streets

streets and squares. There were in Galiba several Egyptian priests in the habits of merchants, as it was usual for them in foreign countries. They conform'd with so much discretion to the customs of every place, and behav'd themselves with so much prudence, that they were never observ'd; or at least they were only distinguish'd by the good they found opportunities of doing. Among these were fourteen or fifteen priests of Memphis, and some officers of the second order. Two of these priests, who met Cheres, knew him immediately. He, at the same time, gave them the sign of religious secrecy, which was, by laying his hand on his heart. He related his whole history to them; and they immediately offer'd him their treasure, which the length of the siege had not yet exhausted, and which was going to increase greatly by the return of those sums they had lent to the citizens during the publick calamity. Cheres took advantage of an offer which was a right to all initiates: but he told them, that he had left his jewels in the hands of the priests of Memphis, and that his design was, they should open the box, and take out as many as would pay all the sums he might borrow of them. To this end, he begg'd of them to conduct him to the house where they lodg'd, that he might write to the high-priest of Memphis, and leave his letter in their hands, to be carry'd by one of them, or their officers,

cers, who might first return into Egypt. In this letter, after an ample relation of his adventures, he took notice of the debt he had just contracted; and those he might yet contract; begging the high-priest to reimburse himself out of what he had put into his hands, and which he desir'd him yet to keep for the same use, and especially as it contain'd the late queen his mother's ring, the only exterior token of his birth which fortune had left him. He inform'd him of his resolution, and the hopes he was in of undertaking to coast round Africa, without delay; in a fleet of which he was to have the command in chief; and sooner or later to return that way to the Mediterranean-sea, and into Egypt. He promis'd to write to him, during his voyage, by every safe opportunity that might offer: But above all, he engag'd him, under the seal of religious and sacerdotal secrecy, to leave the whole world; and especially the court of Memphis, in their persuasion of his death; being convinc'd that was the most infallible means to overthrow, in time, all those measures which had been taken upon this false supposition; whereas, if his enemies knew he were living, they would, at their leisure, take such as might be effectual to exclude him from the succession to the throne which was his right. But if the high-priest should, before his return, receive the certain and unquestionable news of his death, he re-

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ferr'd himself entirely to him for the publication he might make of the truth of things, if he thought it necessary, for the satisfaction of the good, and the confusion of the wicked.

CHERES return'd soon enough towards the palace, destin'd for the chief of the colony, to enter into it with his retinue ; and in the evening, taking Astartus aside, he offer'd him his ransom, what he knew he had given to the Phœnicians who brought him on board his vessel. He begg'd of him to receive it, tho' it were but out of a formality, to which he very well knew the idea of liberty was annex'd in publick opinion. My lord, said he, don't be surpriz'd at the sum I give you. I have found in Galiba some Egyptians, unknown, in their habit, from the merchants of your nation. It is an establish'd rule, especially with those amongst us, who are ally'd by a religious association, that their goods are in common in foreign countries. This it is which places me above all necessity for my person here. I presume, however, to beg a lodging of you in your palace, because I shall be the more at hand to pursue, near your person, the preparations for the voyage I have propos'd. Astartus answer'd him, That even before his ransom, which he only accepted of to oblige him, he held him free ; and that the services he had
3
render'd

render'd the Phœnicians, would have cancell'd all the engagements in the world. He added, that at the first word he heard him speak, and by the bare tone of his voice, he had believ'd him to be of a quality far above what he assum'd, and even above the common race of men : But that, in short, he had regard for his secret, and the reasons he had to conceal himself, promising him, with an oath, not to communicate to any one the thoughts he had of him, and which he stifled when he spoke to him himself. He assur'd him, that he would immediately use all possible diligence to put the fleet he had desir'd in a condition to depart as soon as he should think expedient ; and that he would represent this expedition to the king, his master, as the most advantageous that could be propos'd for the world in general, and for Phœnicia in particular. Astartus was as good as his word, and wrote to the king of Tyre not only what he had promis'd Cheres, but added, without his knowledge, that the unknown Egyptian had, by his merit and valour, acquir'd so happy an ascendant over the minds of every one, as promis'd all success to his undertaking : But that he should likewise be accompany'd by such officers and pilots with whom the interest of Phœnicia might be intrusted. The new chief of the colony hasten'd of himself the embarkation ; because at his arrival at Galiba he was inform'd, that three

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Phœnician vessels were departed from Taprobane two months before the siege for the great island of Menuthias [Madagascar]; and that they had been promis'd they should soon be follow'd by others.

ASTARTUS being more and more confirm'd in the opinion he had of the probity and knowledge of Cheres, caus'd six large vessels to be fitted out, and provided with the most excellent Phœnician officers, and the most expert pilots of that nation. They did not forget the astronomical tables, nor the instruments for observation, which would be more necessary for them in unknown seas than in others. The kings of the island, who had been prepossess'd in favour of Cheres, even before they had seen him; whose part he had so generously taken in the conference, and which he had since improv'd with a great deal of care during their stay at Galiba, furnish'd the same number. With the consent of Astartus, the partition of such possessions and settlements, as in their discoveries might be to be made between the islanders and the Phœnicians, was left to the sole disposition of Cheres. These first vessels were follow'd by twelve others of lesser bulk, which were to carry, and bring back again successively, provisions and merchandizes, as occasion might require. They took care to furnish themselves in abundance with all the little
3 utensils,

utensils, which, being put to the most common uses, are of small value among civiliz'd nations ; but which must seem very curious to savages who have no idea of the conveniences of life. Some of the priests of Memphis, who knew Cheres personally ; and who, according to their general maxim, travell'd to the different parts of the world, as soon as they were discover'd, desir'd to accompany him in his voyage. He would by no means refuse the pleasure and assistance he had to hope from their conversation, advice and ingenuity. The Phœnicians and the islanders of Taprobane had already their priests, according to the religious customs of the ancients, who never went to sea without them. For this reason the poets have feign'd, that the Argonauts took Orpheus with them, and that the Greeks made Calchas accompany them to the siege of Troy. Cheres was so urgent and assiduous, that every thing was ready within a month ; he then went on board of the most gallant vessel, as commander ; and this fleet, at its departure from Taprobane, was attended with the blessings of the two nations, who lin'd the shore a long way off.

AT their departure from the port of Galiba, the wind bore them away to the southward, which was their course to the island of Menuthias : but it was the custom of

those days to keep the coast; a timorous way of sailing, which continu'd among us till Hipalus *, a famous mariner under the emperor Claudius, taught the Romans to traverse the main sea in their voyages to the Indies. So this northerly wind was contrary to the course Cheres's pilots propos'd to take; which was, to return the same way they came from the Arabian Gulph to Taprobane, and then to pursue the African coasts from the north to the south. Cheres was sorely griev'd to go so much about, because he had very little curiosity to view those coasts which had already been seen by himself or others: therefore, taking advantage of this circumstance of a contrary wind that favour'd a design, which without this pretext he would hardly have ventur'd to have propos'd: he call'd the pilots together, and said to them; Comrades, dare you put trust in my presage? The heavens seem to point out to us the way which we ought to take. We are going in quest of new lands; but we shan't be the first who have procur'd this advantage to mankind; and your nation is already famous for these sorts of discoveries. Let us teach future navigators something newer, and more considerable, and which will render you famous among the Phœnicians themselves. Let us make the world ac-

* Dodwel, de autore & ætate Peripli maris Erythræi, cap. 16.

quainted

quainted with the main sea; and let us open a passage thro' it by our example. Let us take this opportunity of a favourable wind to do designedly, what tempests and currents have oblig'd those vessels to do which have landed on islands at a great distance from the shores of the continent. Experience has taught us, that in crossing the sea we are generally less subject to sands and rocks than in coasting voyages. Those among you who have been at Menuthias by other ways, have determin'd the situation of this island; so you know what course you have to take. The certain advantage of a voyage, shorten'd at least the half, by sailing in a direct line, seems, in my opinion, to outweigh the hazard of it, tho' not yet attempted. What would our navigation now have been if your fathers had not undertaken things which none before them had presum'd to do? They saw the times, in which not only passengers landed every night, but the pilots drew their vessels on shore. Yours are too great to follow them in this lamentable way of working, which you leave to the Greeks; the greater part of whom don't yet venture, I don't say out of the Mediterranean, but hardly out of the neighbourhood of the Archipelago. You allow, that you pass your nights more securely in your vessels, either at anchor, or even continuing your course, than by exposing yourself on desert coasts, or those

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where you mistrust the inhabitants. Navigation of itself is look'd upon as the boldest attempt mankind has ever been capable of; but we may say, it is become the more secure, in proportion as it has been attempted with the greater boldness. I don't despair but this trial, which I propose to you, will exempt you, in future times, from a thousand shipwrecks and encounters: Besides, the birds * which you carry along with you, according to custom, will, by their flight, direct you where those islands or continents lie, which you are to avoid running upon. As soon as we suppose ourselves in the neighbourhood of them, we will send some of our small vessels or boats to sound the way before us. These are only particular methods: but for the general direction of our course, I build very much upon the knowledge you have of the stars. Mariners of other nations have no other guide but the Great Bear; a constellation, tho' very visible, which discovers the northern region to us, but in an undetermin'd manner. You alone know how to guide yourselves by the Cynosura † or Lesser Bear; the point of whose tail directs you exactly to the polar star. 'Tis true, as soon as we have pass'd the line, the northern pole will disappear from our sight; and I know, that

* Pliny, lib. 6. cap. 24.

† Namque Helice Græcos, Tyrios Cynosura per altum parva regit. Festus Avienus in Arateis, & alii.

the

the nearest star to the southern pole, which we must then have in view, is distant from it above fifteen degrees. This inconveniency might seem capable of reducing us to a pretty great uncertainty. But, not to mention the assistance we shall have by easy reckonings, it is certain, that bearing from hence to the southwest, as you know we must to steer in a direct line for Menuthias, we shall likewise then find ourselves very near to Africa; which we shall afterwards coast, according to the manner of common sailing, during the whole remainder of our course.

THE pilots, being won by a discourse which Cheres had wisely turn'd in their favour, and by which he seem'd to put confidence in their knowledge, accepted of this proposal with joy. And moreover, this trust which he profess'd to repose in them, was, as it generally happens, the measure of theirs in him. In the mean time they doubled their diligence, as well in taking every day the height of the sun, and every night that of different stars, as to discover at as great a distance as possible, the islands they were to meet with in their passage. The continual vigilance, which new dangers oblig'd them to, procur'd them the satisfaction, not only of rendring themselves more expert than they had been before, but of finding themselves in reality more so than they expected to be.

Cheres,

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Cheres, in order to exempt those who were to follow him from the painful uncertainty into which he ran himself for their sakes, caus'd a very exact journal to be kept of whatever they observ'd either in the firmament or the seas. As they were then in the middle of our winter, as soon as they had pass'd the line, they made great advantage of the east wind, call'd, *Apeliotes* or *Subsolanus*. This regular wind, which always follows the sun in these seas, from one tropick to the other, and which extremely qualifies the heat of its perpendicular rays, carry'd them in less than a month within sight of the most southern coasts of the island of Menuthias. We find it call'd in some of our authors, *Cerna Etbiopica*, to distinguish it from *Cerna Atlantica*, [the island of Madera] situate over-against the western and northern point of Africa. My anecdote authors relate, that the first, of which we are here treating, had been already discover'd by the Phœnicians, in the following manner :

DURING the first years that Pheletes govern'd the Phœnician colony of Taprobane, one of his boldest pilots propos'd to him, to extend the knowledge they already had of the eastern coasts of Africa yet farther. As Pheletes was puff'd up with the advantageous ideas which had been given him of the Chersonesus Aurea and Serica, he flatter'd himself

self with the hopes of greater profit for his colony and himself from thence, than what he could expect from Africa; of which he had heard no other mention made but as of a country hideous not only for its inhabitants but for its desarts. Thus, whatever instances they could make him, he would only grant one vessel to him who propos'd this undertaking. This pilot, after having taken the common tour to come at the cape of Aromata [Gardafuy] which is the most eastern promontory of Ethiopia above Egypt, join'd with some Ethiopian merchants, who accompany'd him to Rapta, over-against the middle of the island of Menuthias. There they told him, they were never accusom'd to go farther; tho', according to an opinion spread among them, by advancing a little farther, they would find the mines of Sophir or Ophir [now Sophala]. Not, added they, that any stranger has ever seen them. If there be any, they are barr'd from us by Anthropophagian Ethiopians, who, without doubt, don't know their own riches: but being animated by a more brutish passion, they assemble in numerous bodies, to lay hold of all travellers who have the misfortune to be cast on their coasts; and they carry them away to eat them. Thus we have no other evidence of their possessing mines of gold, but some dust of that metal which has been found mix'd with the sand on their coasts.

UPON

UPON this advice the Phœnician pilot, considering that he was not of force enough, either for an assault, or to defend himself, was satisfy'd, as he pass'd the night on this coast, with sending a boat to fill a barrel with this sand in haste. He then stood away for Menuthias, where he had been told the inhabitants had not much more understanding, but were more humane than the savages of Sophir. He doubled the isle towards the south, and landed there : he took a just account of the height of it, and brought away from thence several refreshments, which he purchas'd for some trifles of little value. Being return'd to Taprobane by the way he came, he presented the chief of the colony his barrel of sand ; out of which they drew, by barely washing, a pretty large quantity of gold. At the sight of this, Pheletes consented to equip three vessels, which were to land on the southern coast of Menuthias, a little beyond the tropic, at the port, which would be easily found by the first pilot he sent ; and he made them hope, as we have observ'd above, that they should soon be follow'd by a reinforcement. The reason Pheletes alledg'd was, that the first thing they had to do was to establish themselves at Menuthias, that they might there concert the most expedient measures to make war with the savages of Sophir. But tho' it was near a year that these three vessels were departed,

departed, they did not arrive at this island till eight days after Cheres, with his fleet, was got thither, which was a great honour to the undertaking he had just perform'd of crossing the main sea.

AS SOON as this fleet, which consisted of twenty-four vessels, appear'd in the road, they observ'd that the islanders, men and women, terrify'd with a sight, the like of which, without doubt, they had never seen, fled to a great distance, and driving before them all their cattle which they could get together, left an open country. The Phœnicians immediately enter'd into a very large haven, which nature * alone had form'd. It is a kind of lake, screen'd from every wind, upon which were a great number of fishermen's barks, made out of one piece of hollow'd timber, and laden with strong wicker baskets, which serv'd the inhabitants for nets. They landed in a pleasant and fertile plain, water'd with several rivers and brooks, which fall into the lake, and full of cabins cover'd with leaves, to screen both men and beasts from the great heat of the sun. They found every where provisions of rustick food; and in several places some old men and children, who had wanted strength to leave their dwellings. Cheres gave orders to his whole com-

* Dapper upon the island of Madagascar.

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pany to appease the fear, which their accoutrements of war had caus'd in these savage peasants, by all tokens of friendship. And, in the mean time, they took possession of a place which the cowardice of the possessors had made strangers, who desir'd no more than a courteous hospitality, the masters of. After having pass'd some days in marking out the ground they believ'd they might want for themselves, and for those who would follow them, they began to fortify it, for fear the fugitives might return with some unknown succours. For this work they at first employ'd their rowers, but they soon had other workmen. The inhabitants came one by one, to see whether the strangers were departed. Cheres and his people, by their gestures and the engaging tone of their voices, prevail'd upon those of the old men and children, who were able to walk a little, to go and meet their relations, and to assure them they had nothing to fear of these strangers. This expedient succeeded beyond all hopes; and the inhabitants return'd in a few days to their cabins. It is true, they were now no longer masters there; but whether it was that they were sensible they had lost their independancy by their own fault; or whether they perceiv'd the superiority which civiliz'd nations had over them, they submitted to their bondage without reluctance. As they before aim'd at nothing more than a livelihood, and they had

had never attain'd to it without labour, their condition seem'd to be hardly chang'd. On the contrary, the inhabitants of this southern canton having never had any chief in common to them, and consequently no necessary and absolute judge in their quarrels; they seem'd, by the loss of the propriety of their goods, to have procur'd a more peaceable enjoyment of them. To conclude, one of the comforts of these people was, that this new government freed them from the injunctions which their soothsayers laid upon all mothers, of exposing their children, when they found by their observations that they were born under inauspicious omens *.

THE first thing Cheres did, was, to make particular laws for this kind of slaves. He ordain'd, that they should only be call'd bonds-men or servants. He regulated their food, such as they enjoy'd before. He divided their hours equally between work and rest; but he promis'd them particularly, in the name of the kings, their new sovereigns, that as long as they behav'd themselves with that submission they had till then shewn, they should never be carry'd out of their island against their wills. These dispositions being made, they employ'd them in building a fort, walls and dwellings, with the most proper materials they found in the neighbour-

* Dapper, pag. 468.

hood.

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hood. At last, Cheres, by virtue of the power given him at his departure, determin'd, that the fort, the new city, and all the territory which surrounded it, ought, on account of the neighbourhood, to appertain as a sovereignty to the kings of Taprobane, as well as all conquests they might for the future make in every island.

HE sent two of his lesser vessels, to inform the kings of his disposition, and of the conditions upon which he had made them sovereigns of the island, and masters of its inhabitants, or at least of that part which was actually conquer'd. One of these vessels carry'd a column of ebony wood, of a prodigious length and thickness. All their people, to the very sailors, had quantities of topazes, granates, amethysts, and other precious stones; which, as they said, and was agreeable to the truth, they had gather'd in the rivers and brooks *. Cheres, in his letter, exhorted the kings to send a small fleet, with a certain number of men and women, to begin a settlement in the form of a colony at Menuthias. He advis'd them to send officers and soldiers with them, that they might have a garison in this island, and a fleet in its haven; because he should carry all the vessels and people he had with him in quest of farther discoveries. He advis'd them, however, not to let their

* Dapper, page 446.

people

people advance farther into the country, till after some time, and when, by a mild and just dominion over their new servants, they were sure of having zealous soldiers in them. He even exhorted them not to extend their conquests but in the same manner as they had been begun ; that is, by convincing the inhabitants of the inward parts of the island, that a reasonable servitude would be infinitely more easy to them than the savage liberty in which they then liv'd. He concluded, that if the kings of Taprobane would but never so little hasten the imbarkation he propos'd to them, they might yet find him in the same place, because the passage between the two islands was now no more a tedious voyage.

HE wrote a private letter to Astartus ; in which he observ'd, that he had thought it most expedient to make this first present to his allies, to cement their reconciliation with the Phœnicians, who stood in need of their factory of Taprobane for their trade to the Indies. That besides, these allies having fewer maritime forces, and less correspondence in trade than Phœnicia, he had been glad to give them a possession, which they might with ease keep and improve : But that his design was to make the Phœnicians lords of all the eastern coasts of Africa, from Raptum to the most southern point of this part of the world. That the correspondence they

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already had with the northern Ethiopians would soon make it easy to them to carry on their trade directly to all Africa without going to Taprobane, or even stopping at Menuthias. He advis'd him, that he was going to make a beginning by the mines of Sophir, situate in a barbarous country, whose inhabitants destroy'd and devour'd all those who fell into their hands. That he reckon'd he had men enough to subdue them, and would inform him from thence what troops the Phœnicians would want to maintain their conquest. That after having made as many slaves as he possibly could of these inhuman people, he would employ them in building upon all the coasts such forts as he should judge necessary to secure to Phœnicia those possessions which were advantageous in themselves, or would serve for factories to depart from thence to places where they would have a profitable commerce. He added, that he talk'd of reducing this part of the eastern coast of Africa to slavery, only because it was inhabited by monsters in human shape, incapable of all society. But that he hop'd to find on the western coast nations with whom they might enter into some treaties of alliance or commerce. That it was not for the interest of Phœnicia to go every where sword in hand : That they would ruin themselves by so tedious an expedition, or at least their dominion would be of no long duration : That it were to be wish'd

with'd for them, they might always find people who would receive them as they had been receiv'd at Taprobane. That he should be so far from destroying, that he would not subdue all the Barbarians, who might at first make some resistance: but that he would make use of his victories, as Astartus himself had more than once given him an example, to reduce the conquer'd to a friendship with the conquerors. That if he had made the inhabitants of Menuthias bonds-men, it was because having found no form of general and constant government among them, he could not apply himself to any of them, in order to treat in safety with the nation: That therefore he could bring them no other-wise but by servitude to that communication of good offices, to which he believ'd all the people of the earth were oblig'd one towards the other. That in consideration, however, of their natural goodness, he had taken all possible measures, that their yoke might rather be advantageous than burthensome. That, in a word, he had acted very differently with them from what he was going to do with the Anthropophagi, those enemies to mankind, of whom he would endeavour to exterminate one part, that he might make the remainder real slaves. But that in general he was persuaded, the natural inhabitants of each country were only truly capable of cultivating and preserving the fruits

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and production of nature in their own lands, and to traffick with them advantageously for those people themselves who want to purchase them there. That thus it would be to ruin trade in its infancy, not only to exterminate, but even to scare away or to alienate those people who were to be gain'd by prudence and humanity. That, for his part, he had only offer'd his service to Phœnicia and its allies in this view. That his most fervent wishes were, to civilize the savages themselves, who might be found susceptible of any manners, by the intercourse he would procure them with polite nations. In a word, that all he aspir'd to in his undertaking was, to make men advantageous one to the other.

CHERES, while he was waiting the return of his two ships, so hasten'd the works he had begun, that the families of Taprobane found, at their arrival some months afterwards, habitations finish'd, both in the city and in the country. Their commander or governor had orders from the three kings to distribute them according to the advice and dispositions of Cheres, and to conform himself to the regulations he should receive from him in what concern'd this conquest. These orders were accompany'd with a letter of praises and acknowledgements to Cheres: but he was more pleas'd with the approbation
which

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which Astartus gave, in his answer, to the motives of his conduct; not only because Phœnicia having as yet not had their share, this approbation seem'd more disinterested; but because he was chiefly concern'd for the good of the Phœnicians, and believ'd by serving them, he more immediately serv'd Egypt itself.

As Cheres only waited for the islanders of Taprobane to put their colony in possession of a country he had won for them; as soon as that was settled, he refitted his whole fleet; and having furnish'd it abundantly with ammunition and provisions, he set sail for Sophir.

HIS design was to reach the coasts of Africa at the river Raptus [Cuama]; where, as has been already observ'd, the Ethiopian merchants always stopp'd, by reason of the dread they had of the Anthropophagi; But a violent storm, such as is very common between Africa and Menuthias, soon interrupted the passage of his fleet into this canal, which he would not venture into but with a very favourable wind. The calm was not intirely settled, when his vessel, being separated from all the rest by a tempest, was found to be off of a point of land, which he knew to be the promontory of Prasón, and which Ptolemy afterwards plac'd in the

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fifteenth degree of southern latitude. But as there is no point of land beyond that of Raptum to the south till you come to this promontory; which in my anecdotes I find situated under the tropick of Capricorn, I conclude this is the Cape, which Ptolemy knew the name of, without knowing the situation of it, tho' it was truly describ'd to him by Marin of Tyre, whom he quotes on this same subject *. Cheres calling to mind that this was the bounds of Africa, known by the geographers of his time, resolv'd to land there, and took his measures for the descent.

He had perceiv'd, at a distance, a crowd of inhabitants on the shore; and he imagin'd that these people, having discover'd several of his vessels, were only assembled in so great a number to defend themselves, in case they offer'd to approach them. He therefore thought immediately of rejoining his fleet; and afterwards, that the savages might the sooner separate, he got it quite out of their sight. In short, he order'd matters so, that by favour of a night, which was the fifth after the tempest, three of his smaller vessels, which he commanded himself, fill'd with chosen soldiers, and back'd by the remainder of the fleet at a convenient distance, attempted to land. He had observ'd, as a land-mark, some cabins almost on the brink of the cape, at

* Lib. i. cap. 7.

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the mouth of a river [the Inhambane]; and he judg'd, by the nature of the ground, the descent would be easy there. His conjecture prov'd true; and they even found no one to oppose them: so marching silently, with sword in hand, they went up to these cabins, guided by the light of some wood, which they saw burning there. About thirty savages, who guarded the entrance into them, awak'd, and immediately made a great cry; which was a signal for their own death. This expedition was pursu'd with so much diligence, that not one of them had time to arm himself with his bow and arrows, which he had by his side, or means to escape, to give notice to his comrades at a distance.

CHERES and his company enter'd immediately into a sort of large stable, supported from space to space by stakes. They found there about fifty men, almost naked, lying upon leaves, and ty'd to these stakes by branches of palms, twisted into the form of chains. These men, who spoke different languages, all agreed in their tokens of joy and supplicating tone of their voices. Cheres made signs to them by favourable gestures to let one of them, who seem'd to be more zealous than the rest, speak for them all: My lord, said he, you who are at the head of these Phœnicians, whom I know by their armour, as being a Phœnician myself: Heaven has,

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without

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without doubt, sent you to be the deliverer of us miserable wretches, who are here destin'd to serve for food to the cruel inhabitants of this country. We have been drove on shore here at different times by contrary winds. They come hither in shoals, as soon as they perceive a storm, with a design to seize the prey it may bring them. For otherwise, they have not the courage to go to sea to attack any vessels they think capable of defending themselves. They take advantage of the state of imbecility, fatigue and agony, to which travellers, batter'd by the waves, and almost drowned, are reduc'd to, to reserve those wretches for a death by far more terrible than that they have escap'd. They keep us here in vast pastures full of flocks, from whence they take their daily food, and with which they nourish us, in order to make the same use of us at their festivals as of their flocks : we are liable every month to the frightful choice they come to make of us by the brutal estimate of the plight we are in. Oh ! young hero, whoever you are, give us our lives, or at least preserve us from a death so unworthy of the human species. We may, perhaps, be of some service to you against these barbarians, of whose genius and customs, a fatal experience has given us some knowledge. Receive us among the meanest of these brave warriors, who have follow'd you in this glorious expedition, and who seem

seem as intirely devoted to your person, as fill'd with admiration of your valour.

CHERES immediately caus'd the bonds of these prisoners to be out ; and sent orders to the whole fleet to repair immediately into the haven or bason, which forms the mouth of the river. Seeing himself at last in this desir'd land, where he was beginning his labours for the benefit of mankind, he was sensible of that joy which travellers, after long voyages, have at their return into their own country. He soon learnt from these strangers he had just deliver'd, that there were at different places on this coast, going to the north, on the way to Sophir, more of these infamous markets, where the Anthropophagi traffick'd with one another for the men they took. He thought proper, before he went to clear the shore of so many assassins, to form a settlement at the promontory for his fleet ; which might afterwards remain for the use of the Phœnicians. It did not appear very difficult to him. He saw he had to do with men, who being terrify'd, had abandon'd the whole plain ever since he had landed, and who only appear'd on the top of the hills ; from which they immediately descended on the other side as soon as they made a shew of approaching them. By this example he was confirm'd in the opinion he had always had, that cruelty and barbarity are generally
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the companions of the vilest cowardice : He was very glad, at the same time, he should have less occasion for blood-shed than he thought, in the reducing of these savages : but their business was to seize as many of them as they could alive ; and in the execution of this design, the strangers were of great help to him.

As there were several Ethiopians among them, who had observ'd that the language of the savages did not differ entirely from theirs, they offer'd Cheres to endeavour at bringing them back again. They told him, that provided they were arm'd, they were not at all fearful of them. They said, they would give them to understand, that their flocks, their fruits, and their cabins being in the plain, the surest means for them would be to trust to the mercy of the conqueror. Yes, said Cheres, and you may assure them, that besides their lives, which I promise them, I will employ 'em in something more advantageous to themselves, than that horrible profession which has made them the abomination of the whole world. Don't forget to add, that I will make a great difference between those who shall submit upon your remonstrances, and those who will put us to the trouble of pursuing them.

THESE

THESE deputies being departed, to the number of twenty, their greatest trouble was, to get near these savages; whom they call'd to come to them in the most pacifick tone and gestures. But as soon as they could in any wise get to speak with them; they soon made them sensible, that being us'd to plenty as they were in their meadows along the shore, they would soon perish with misery, if they were to seek their sustenance for themselves and their families, with their bows and arrows, upon barren mountains and desert plains. These, and the like discourses, passing from one to the other, brought back, in a few days, two or three thousand, and more follow'd. Cheres receiv'd them courteously. He distributed them into several companies; at the head of which he plac'd a Phœnician to command them, and an Ethiopian to be their interpreter. He employ'd them to prepare the ground for a small colony which he sent to desire of Astartus, while he employ'd himself in disposing every thing for a greater settlement in the neighbourhood of Sophir. He did not put these slaves to more tedious labour than he had done the islanders of Menuthias. And he even order'd them a more solid nourishment, in consideration of the custom they had contracted.

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THE greater part of his company were surpriz'd at this humanity, and these regards; and they rather expected to have seen them chastis'd exemplarily for their late inhumanity. But Cheres told them, there was a vast difference to be made between crimes committed by private persons against establish'd laws in a civiliz'd country, and customs arising from the ignorance and barbarity of a whole nation. That pains inflicted upon them before they were instructed, would be a criminal revenge, and not a lawful punishment. That he made no scruple of exterminating men who were pernicious to mankind; and that upon this principle, he had no reluctance in massacring the thirty savages who guarded the stables, because he then thought it necessary. But that now he knew the character of these barbarians better, he should think himself very blameable to destroy a people whom he was going to render of service, by their labours, to the Phœnicians themselves, and by the continuance of their commerce to all the nations on earth.

HOWEVER, all the savages were not in a humour to abandon their idleness, and the hopes they yet had of remaining canibals, in exchange for tolerable but regular labours. It was soon known, that some of them, keep-
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ing along the coast as far as Sophir, were gone in companies to the other Anthropophagi, to keep them in a body, by telling them they were threatned with such an invasion as had driven them from the promontory. That therefore they ought to prepare for their defence, and turn their courage against their common enemy; which they had hitherto only exercised in destroying one another singly, for private and personal quarrels. Cheres being inform'd of these proceedings, resolv'd to go in search of these savages by land, that he might take them on all sides. But as it was near a hundred leagues from Praeon to Sophir, he imagin'd horses would be of service to him; and the more, as the vigour and swiftness of these animals, which this people had never yet seen, would infallibly strike terror in their most numerous troops.

UPON this he dispatch'd four vessels of his fleet, commanded by Phœnicians, but with several Ethiopians in their company. He gave them a sum of gold sufficient to purchase ten thousand horses in Ethiopia, where they are in great numbers, beautiful, and so hard of hoof, that without being shod, they ascend and descend the most rocky mountains *. He did not think much of this ex-

*. Dapper, pag. 419.

pence,

pence, which he hoped would be abundantly reimburs'd out of the mines of Sophir. These four vessels, which were the largest of his fleet, were to serve as a convoy to the flat-bottom'd vessels which were to bring the horses and their leaders. He foresaw that in this interval of time the Phœnician colony would arrive ; and that they being sufficient to guard the promontory, he might take his whole army with him.

PRESENTLY after the return of the vessels which he had sent into Ethiopia, and the arrival of the Phœnician colony which he expected from Taprobane, he began his march towards Sophir. He order'd his fleet to coast along the shore, with all sorts of necessaries that they might want in crossing the country, which was not every where equally fruitful. It was likewise design'd to harbour the sick and wounded, if there should be any, and the slaves he hop'd to make. And as he had only mounted six thousand soldiers, the flat-bottom'd boats transported the remainder in case of need.

THE savages, who were not ignorant of these motions, had the courage to advance within three days journey of Prafon. They were assembled in a plain, at the foot of an eminence which Cheres was to pass, not an army, but a great number of men, who all
thought

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thought that nothing was requisite for a battle but numbers. For that very reason, knowing his arrival on the other side of the eminence, which separated them, they had the assurance to send him a threatening deputation; because they had heard of the Ethiopians, who were sent to them at the beginning, that among all nations deputies were inviolate. The three savages being presented to Cheres in his tent, were struck with the majesty of his appearance and countenance; and whether it was that they were sensible of the natural superiority, which it has been always said the blacks observe in white men; or whether frightened with their habits of steel, and helmets adorn'd with plumes and tufts of feathers, which they saw not only on Cheres, but on all the officers who were about him, they did not dare to open their mouths. Instead of speaking, they repeated continually their prostrations, such as they were us'd to before their idols. Cheres was oblig'd to let them know by the Ethiopians, who serv'd as their interpreters, that they should put an end to their ridiculous compliments, and inform him of their commission. The deputies, trembling and stammering, gave him to understand, that if he advanc'd farther, their chiefs would immediately burn alive all the strangers they had in their markets. Cheres answer'd, They might do as they thought fit; and that they would them-

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themselves mark out the measure of their own punishment : But that a desire to change the kind of death of some hundreds of men should not hinder him from purging human nature of such monsters as they were. These poor negroes carry'd the impressions of their fear to their chiefs, which did not hinder them from causing all the strangers they had in a neighbouring market to be massacred ; because, finding themselves press'd to prepare for battle, they did not think they had time to put them to more lingering torments.

THEY form'd a sort of square batallion, very close, so that there were not above two or three of the first rows, who could aim at the enemy when they drew their arrows, and the remainder were oblig'd to shoot in the air at random. These arrows were pointed with little sharp stones ; which naturalists finding sow'd in the plains of Africa, have since taken for thunder-bolts, and call'd them *Ceraunia*. * They had behind them a very strait mountain, the top of which was cover'd with the incorruptible wood of *Thya*, a sort of cedar, which render'd this country famous in ancient times. There they had conceal'd their wives and children, and thither they propos'd to retire themselves in case of bad

* Mem. of the Academy of Sciences. An. 1723. By M. de Jussieu.

success.

success. Cheres, having observ'd this disposition, order'd the two wings of his army, compos'd each of two thousand horse, to ride full speed, as soon as they were got on the top of the eminence, to get behind the battalion of the savages, by the two spaces they had very imprudently left, one on each side of them; while he himself would face them with the ten thousand men which remain'd. The barbarians expected these horses, which several among them had perceiv'd before; but had describ'd them to their comrades as animals, which were very slow in the march they had seen. They were therefore in a strange consternation, when having hardly had time to place their arrows in their bows, they saw their battallion inclos'd the first moment, their ranks broken in the second, and in the third the most of them thrown down, and trodden under the horses feet: they but escap'd one sword to meet with another: They found they were conquer'd at the first onset; and their resistance was hardly as long as my description. They stretch'd out their arms to beg quarter; and the combat ceasing at once, they were convey'd to the ships by thousands, where they were put in irons. In the mean time, Cheres finding the stable where they had just murder'd the strangers, he pick'd out the chief of the barbarians, and order'd them to be hang'd along the sea-shore to intimidate the rest,

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and to shew travellers that they might with safety not only pass that channel, but land on that shore.

AFTER this execution, he made the Ethiopians publish an amnesty, by which he promis'd all the savages of the country, who would abandon their former barbarity, and acknowledge themselves slaves to the Phœnicians, not only their lives, but a favourable reception. This brought in the wives and children of those who were in chains. They were separated into families; and Cheres promis'd them, in his own name, and in the name of the Phœnicians their masters, to join them always after that manner in the labours they should impose upon them. He excepted from this rule none but the young men who were not marry'd, of whom he made rowers, in the stead of those he had brought from Taprobane, who were converted into soldiers, to increase his troops. But he promis'd all these new captives to take off their chains as soon as they had given sufficient proofs of their fidelity. These marks of goodness from a conqueror, who had appear'd so dreadful, was some comfort to them in their defeat and slavery. Those whom he left in their own country took, with less regret, to those labours which are plac'd in the list of punishments for criminals, but to which many other men willingly submit

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submit only to get a livelihood; I mean the mines which they were made to open in the territory of Sophir, whither Cheres arriv'd without any opposition, and deliver'd in his passage all the captives of the Anthropophagi.

THESE mines appear'd to be surprisingly rich; and tho' the Phœnicians were great artists in the management of this sort of works, which were not new to them, the Egyptian priests, who were with Cheres, taught them the real secret of separating the gold from the fragments of stone which is taken with it from the mines. This they did before, by grinding it to powder with prodigious labour, and afterwards by reiterated meltings. The Egyptian priests taught them, that quicksilver poured upon the stone, when but slightly pounded, would imbibe the precious metal: That it was easy afterwards to separate this amalgamation or mixture from the sand or gravel which yet clog'd it; and that lastly, they had nothing to do but to make the quicksilver evaporate by fire, which would leave the pure gold at the bottom of the vessel *. They farther acquainted them, that this property of the quicksilver extended itself even to silver, but had no effect upon

* Pero Fernandez de Valasco gave this secret to the Spaniards in 1571; who employ'd it in the mines of Potosi. Mer. Ind. p. 1. c. 4. and Rohault has explain'd this effect in his physicks, p. III. c. 6. art. 27.

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bafer metals, with which it would not unite; tho' they only wanted it for the former at the mines of Sophir: And we know that, in the following ages, they furnish'd the most renown'd nations not only with the gold, with which they cover'd the temples of their gods and the palaces of their kings, but with precious stones without number, with which their women adorn'd themselves. Not to mention those whose names are common, it was from thence they had the pantarba, which had, as it is said, the virtue of repelling the operation of fire; and the fideropæcilus, a kind of load-stone, to which was ascrib'd the yet more fabulous property of keeping up enmity among those who carry'd it about them*.

ASTARTUS having given an account of these advantages, obtain'd of the king of Phœnicia himself a more numerous colony for this settlement, which was already provided with slaves, than the Phœnicians of Taprobane could have made up. This people, who were accusom'd at Tyre and Sidon to all the delights of life, found no want of them in this new habitation. They built houses of several sorts of vein'd timber of all colours, of great lustre, and fitter for carving than marble. Besides salutary as well as delicious

* Heliod. cap. 4 & 8. But see M. Huet de Navigatione Salomonis, c. 6. p. 179.

food,

food, which both land and sea afforded in abundance, the plains were fill'd with peacocks, parrots, monkeys and other animals, which, for the beauty of their form or singularity of their qualities, were worth sending, as they were long afterwards, to all those nations who had money to spend in amusements. To conclude, tho' Cheres had no design that the islanders of Taprobane should partake with the Phœnicians in the dominion of Sophir, or in the propriety of its mines, he assign'd them here, as well as during his whole course in every settlement, a quarter for them to dwell in, and gave them a proper interest in the Phœnician commerce. The kings of Taprobane had themselves intimated, that tho' they were overjoy'd that he would teach their subjects trade and navigation, they were not desirous of acquiring very distant possessions, for which they would have enough to do to furnish colonies.

THE settlements Cheres had procur'd for the two nations, who had furnish'd him with their soldiers, were no settlements for him. His mind being fill'd with more extensive projects for the advantage of the whole world, and even with the desire of returning into his own country with all the glory and authority which great actions could intitle him to, he found he was yet very short of his aim. He had actually at heart the find-
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ing out the utmost point of Africa ; a design really new, that would give a facility to trade ; the value of which was very well known, but the hopes of it look'd on as chimerical. Being return'd from Sophir to the promontory, it was in that part he imbark'd for this new expedition. He had increas'd the number of his people by a great many of the strangers whom he had deliver'd. They had themselves desir'd to follow him, after he had granted them full liberty of returning into their own country, loaded with the gold of Sophir. As there were among those who devoted themselves to his service, merchants of every nation, and even Phœnicians already establish'd in the most northern parts of the Atlantick-sea, and who had pass'd the Mediterranean to come and imbark in the Red-sea ; he was very glad to have in them proper interpreters for the coasts he was to attempt. He thought it proper to take with him all the horses, after the service they had done him against the Anthropophagi. But before he departed from Sophir, he chang'd his flat-bottom'd boats, which had brought them from Ethiopia, into vessels which drew more water, and were fitter to hold out against a tempest.

END of VOL. I.



A MAP
of the
TRAVELS
of
SETHOS.



THE
L I F E
O F
S E T H O S.

BOOK VII.



HO' the relation I am now about to give of the voyage made by Sethos, or Cheres, round the coast of Africa, is entirely taken from my private memoirs ; history gives us room to think, that all the coasts of this third part of the world were discover'd about the time in which my hero is placed ; that is, in the century preceding the war of Troy. The first nations which were the most powerful, either in valour or number, extended their dominions by little

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and little on the continent. To them it was a great matter only to cross those rivers which lay in their way ; and thus it was that Ninus form'd the vast Assyrian empire, which his father Belus had not extended beyond Babylon. But as soon as they ventur'd on navigation, the great men of Egypt, such as Cecrops, Cadmus, Danaus, &c. expos'd themselves to the hazard of the sea, establish'd colonies on the coasts, and by that means became the fathers of commerce, that amiable band of society, which joins the most distant nations. The heroes of Greece, Hercules, Theseus and Pirithous, not long before Sethos, follow'd them in this emulation ; and not satisfy'd with making the passage of the seas known, they invited their contemporaries to frequent them, by clearing them of those pirates which infested them, and those tyrants that render'd the coasts inaccessible. As every age has its ruling taste, in this nothing was so much coveted by those men who aim'd at a distinguish'd fame, as finding out new countries, building towns in them, and giving laws to their inhabitants. But this emulation being since ceased, and this practice left off afterwards, or at least very much disused ; and besides, these heroes having had no other historians but the poets ; no wonder if we have very faint footsteps left of their travels. Fable, by leading them down to

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hell,

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hell, instead of conducting them to the different ends of our world, has converted their navigations, of which the most simple recital would have been of great value to us, into stories as useless as they are wonderful. However, as a thirst after gain is at least as antient among men as heroism, the Phœnicians, who were great traders, were, according to historical traditions, adventurers in the first expeditions by sea : and the private memoirs I follow, assert nothing improbable, in relating that of Sethos in particular, which all known authors tell us in general ; when they say that the Phœnicians, having learn'd navigation of the Egyptians, doubled the promontory of Africa before any other people, and even in the times of heroism *.

OUR historians, of which the most antient did not appear, according to Herodotus, till the descent of Xerxes upon Greece ; our geographers and writers of travels, even more modern than our historians, relate or invent themselves authorities, which all tend to confirm the coasting round Africa more than once in the following ages. Indeed some of them refute these authorities by quoting them ; but these refutations, repeated in different parts of their works, prove at least,

* M. Huer's history of Com: c. 7, & 8. as well as la Martinière, geography dict. under the word Atlantick, confirm or follow this opinion.

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that tradition carry'd on, and sometimes renew'd, always mentions this fact. Herodotus *, for example, relates, that Nechus, that king of Egypt, who was dethron'd and kill'd by Sabacon the Ethiopian, four or five hundred years after Sethos, being curious to know the general situation of the earth and seas, sent out the Phœnicians to make the discovery; who, sailing thro' the streights of the Red-sea, pass'd from the Eastern or Ethiopick sea, into the Hesperian or Atlantick ocean, and return'd thro' the streights of Hercules's pillars, into the Mediterranean, and so to Egypt. To shew that this voyage had carry'd them beyond the course of the sun, or the torrid zone, they said, that sailing with a full wind to the westward, they had the sun on their right-hand: A circumstance, adds Herodotus, which I give no credit to, but others perhaps may.

HANNO, the same who was a captain of the Carthaginians with Amilcar, in their war against Agathocles, was sent by the senate of his city, together with the same Amilcar, to discover the coasts of the western ocean; the former to the southward, and the latter to the northward †. Tho', in some copies of Hanno's narrative, he seems not to have

* Lib. 4.

† See the dissertations of Dodwel, at the beginning of the lesser geographers. De Hannone, cap. 19.

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coasted Africa farther than from Hercules's pillars, to the Hesperian Horn, (the cape of Palms) * where Africa narrows about thirty degrees of longitude ; yet I have seen other copies, in which Hanno gives a relation of his voyage from Cadiz to the Arabian gulph. Pliny must have seen these same copies as well as I, because he quotes them in proof of the same fact †. But to conclude the quotations from Greek and Latin authors, which would be numerous ; Strabo ‡ refutes at large the history of that Eudoxius of Cizicus, who having been sent to the Indies by queen Cleopatra, the widow of the second Evergetes, Ptolomy VII, or Ptolomy Physcon, was cast upon the eastern coasts of Africa, where he saw the wreck of a vessel, which by its built they knew to be come from Cadiz. But the same Strabo in another place || asserts, that the communication of the eastern and western seas is not intercepted by any isthmus that joins Africa to the southern continent : And he could not know this situation of the continent, and of these two seas, otherwise than by some such relations as that of Eudoxius. He seems therefore here to give way to the receiv'd opinion which in other places he disputes.

* According to Salmasius, Plinian. exerc. p. 915.

+ L. 2. c. 67. There are only some of the first of them now in being.

‡ L. 2. || L. 1. p. 5.

INDEED the old notion, that the heat of the torrid Zone was a barrier of separation between the two hemispheres, divided by the equinoctial line, is long since remov'd. Mariners made Ptolomy acquainted with the river Raptus, (Cuama) which is far beyond the line in Barbary (Zanguebar) and with the promontory Praſon at the utmoſt point of the Agyſimbus, (a part of the Monoemugi and Caſſeria): Now how comes it to paſs that of ſo many men, who had the courage to go ſo far, none had the curioſity to follow this ſame coaſt, the extremity of which is but twelve degrees, or three hundred leagues beyond the tropick? Beſides, 'tis common for ſhips to be driven out of their courſe by the winds; and it is to their violence that we owe the diſcovery of many countries which travellers did not look for. Thus many, after having had the diſaſter of being carry'd againſt their wills to the utmoſt bounds of Africa, have had the additional miſfortune not to be credited in the accounts they gave at their return. However, as the footſteps of theſe antient travellers are entirely effac'd, we muſt expect, in a great part of our hero's voyage, to meet with the names of places foreign to our geography, and people unknown to our hiſtorians. We have to this day but a ſmall knowledge of the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, to the tropick of Capricorn. But in our hero's
return

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return by the western coasts, my readers will meet with no places they are acquainted with, but beyond the Equator, and at the Hesperian Horn *.

CHERES being departed with his fleet from the promontory of Prasón, and keeping always along the shore, soon discover'd from the mast-head a large basón or bay (Manica) where four rivers meet †. He order'd his company to go ashore, at a place so remarkable; but they all represented to him, that if they were to stop at every place where any thing particular was to be observ'd, they should never compass their principal aim, which was to find out the extremity of Africa, and a passage into the other sea. He was charm'd to find that they were as impatient for it as himself; but he told them, that as their design was to be of service to their country-men, they must not neglect the discoveries that offer'd to their view; that an exact observation of their latitude, and other circumstances of

* The names of the provinces and rivers in this space will be found the same as in our modern geography. From whence we may in general conclude, that these names, found in the countries themselves, and not carry'd thither by travellers, are much the same at this day as they were in the antientest times, and that my author found them so in his private memoirs.

† They are now call'd Aroe, Laurent-marquez, Manube, and Tenbe.

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the places, would render their discovery certain, and enable them to find the way back again : He confin'd himself, however, not to land any-where but at the mouths of rivers.

HERE they met with another species of men (the Hottentots) like to those they had already seen, by their fear, and disposition to fly ; and they were of so horrid an aspect, that they question'd at first whether they were men. Cheres made fifty of his soldiers follow them on horse-back, and bring some of them to him, that he might see what manner of men they were. They did not seem to have any speech, but continually cry'd * Chainouquas, which was the name Cheres gave them. Their legs and arms were roll'd about with the intestines of animals, in the nature of bracelets or garters of several rows, which made them offensive both to sight and smell, so that they soon let them go again ; and they took their flight, tho' but heavily, because they were incumber'd with their detestable ornaments. Cheres ask'd the Phœnicians if they had any inclination to settle a colony here : They unanimously answer'd, that their nation could at any time make them-

* All this agrees with the map laid down by father Tachard of the point of Africa, in his travels.

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selves masters of a land which seem'd in so mean a state of defence, and that they were for continuing their voyage; they therefore went on board again, and, as they had agreed, landed at the mouth of another river, where the inhabitants were as filthy, and as much for running away, as the former, but they had a pretty large number of barks and fishing-nets made of osier; our sailors therefore nam'd it the Fishing-river; and, for the same reason, they call'd the inhabitants of the former place Chainouquas, they named these Gouriquas. Coasting still to the south, they found another river much larger than the two former, with some others which I don't mention; that river they nam'd the Broad, and the inhabitants Gassiquas.

It was hardly a month after their departure from the promontory, when they observ'd before them the sea cover'd for a good distance with a thick grass like a vast field *. They were in a consternation at the sight, and believ'd they were in shallow waters: They thought it first a bar plac'd there by nature, to stop any farther navigation towards the southern pole; and concluded with themselves, it was not strange

* Father Tachard's first voyage, in the article of the cape of Good-hope, p. 55, & 56.

that

that no body had ever fail'd round Africa. It was perhaps for this very reason that Sataſpes, that guilty prince, whom Xerxes condemn'd to this ſame expedition, which he attempted on the weſtern ſide, as Herodotus relates *, alledg'd that his veſſel was ſtopp'd, and could proceed no farther. Cheres, in a lively hope that he ſhould ſoon remove this cauſe of their diſcouragement, declared to his ſhip's crew, that he would go himſelf in the long-boat to view this obſtacle : He added, that if it really were invincible, he had no power beyond what was human to overcome it ; but that he would not let his imagination deceive him, and take up with appearance for truth : At the ſame inſtant, having faſten'd his boat with a rope to a large veſſel, which was to tow him back again at the firſt ſignal given, he launch'd into this kind of morafs. The rowers met with no manner of reſiſtance, except that their oars came out of the water loaded with theſe weeds, which floated looſe upon the ſurface. He imagin'd that the wind or currents, having driven them from the neighbouring continent or iſlands, had gather'd them into a body ſo great as to terrify his people ; and as all moving bodies have a tendency towards thoſe places where they meet with the leaſt reſiſtance, he judg'd

* Lib. 4.

that the continent of Africa terminated thereabouts, and that he should soon find the passage he was in quest of.

THE whole fleet following his example without fear, they found the coast run all at once, from the south to the west, as it were in a strait line; then they shouted for joy, as is customary with travellers by sea, when they think their danger and labours are at an end: They extoll'd Cheres to the skies, as being the first sailor who had overcome those obstacles, which 'till then had discouraged all others. Cheres, like a wise man, rejecting all honour that was not his due, made them observe they had an advantage with their fleet, which other sailors never had: That there was a great difference between any enterprize attempted with a single ship, and what might be hazarded within the sight and reach of succour: That posterity would compare their actions with their force, and would only approve of what they had done, consider'd in proportion to their number: That, in short, they were yet to keep the coast which bore a little to the south; and that for his part he should not be satisfy'd 'till they had reach'd the other point, and cou'd bear to the northward.

IN reality, tho' the land's-end of Africa may pass for a point, compar'd to the breadth

breadth of the rest of its continent ; it is however certain that this coast slants a little towards the south as it runs to the west, and that on this side it is hardly less than an hundred and sixty leagues in length ; and as they stood in too near to it, they found by their soundings they were near a bank, and were obliged to stand off again : And what made Cheres more uneasy than he was before, this bank runs fifty or sixty leagues into the sea, and reaches almost from one point of the coast to the other ; they therefore row'd above a fortnight out of all sight of the shore, and in very tempestuous weather * ; the sea by night seem'd as cover'd with sparkling stones, some transient, others lasting ; the drops of water which flew from the dashings of the waves, look'd like so many sparks of fire, and the rake of every vessel became a stream of light †. The knowledge Cheres had gain'd at Thebes of this foreign climate, led him however always towards the north, and he found at last they were in two and thirty degrees of south latitude ; that is, nearer to the equator by three degrees than the very extremity of Africa. All they wanted to know was, whether they

* For this reason the cape of Good-hope, before this name was given it by John II. king of Portugal, was nam'd by Bartholomew Dias, (a Portuguese, who doubled it in 1493) The cape of Tempests, Bergeron.

† Father Tachard,

were pass'd it ; that is, whether they had Africa on the right or the left-hand. In a word, it was a question of longitude, which nothing but a sight of the land could decide : However, as he already observ'd, that the winds in these seas drove away to the westward, he did not doubt but he was in the western ocean ; he therefore steer'd eastward to regain Africa, which he soon had the satisfaction to discover ; and then returning to the south, to make sure of the land's-end, they at last saw the cape which terminates it.

AN extreme high mountain, cut out at the top in the form of a table, and which at a distance seems on the sea-shore, tho' it be near a league from it, forms as it were the bottom of a bay or basin fit to contain the largest fleets : That of Cheres enter'd it as in triumph ; and indeed it had obtain'd a kind of victory, either over the distance of places, or the ignorance of men ; but to speak the truth, here were not the proper spectators of this triumph. A discovery of the communication of the two seas was a piece of service done either to distant nations, or to future ages ; and even at this time we have suffer'd the use, and almost the very idea of it, to be lost. Happy, if what I remind of it in this history, may
rouse

rouse the curiosity of mariners, and especially the attention of our princes !

As soon as Cheres landed in this place, which he call'd The cape of the Passage, (the cape of Good-hope) he told the Phœnicians, that tho' there should be no trade carry'd on in this particular place, it would be necessary to erect a fort there, as a monument of this discovery ; and that it might be a place of refuge and refreshment for all who might hereafter undertake the voyage to the two seas. He thought at first to employ the inhabitants in this work, who were the same kind of people as those he had seen on the whole eastern coast on this side the tropick : but fear had drove these to a yet greater distance at the first sight of the fleet ; so that in order to get together about the number of hands he wanted, he resolv'd to employ a thousand horse to encompass a piece of ground, and drive them together as at a hunting of fallow deer. This expedient succeeded so well, that at one time he caught two or three hundred ; he made his rowers strip them, both men and women, of the guts which they wore for ornament, and which were in a great measure their cloathing : While this was performing much against their wills, they utter'd cries ; from whence they were named Soufi-

Soufiquas. This was but an odd sight, yet it was quite another thing when he attempted to force them to work ; for neither a shew of kindness, nor actual chastisements, nor instruments of death, could bring them to put their hands to any kind of work for the service of their conqueror. Diodorus * mentions certain people of Africa, bordering upon the Red-sea, who never wince at any blows, and can see their wives and childrens throats cut before their faces, without shewing the least signs of sorrow or anger. Cheres did not put them to this last trial, but he threatned them with it, tho' to no purpose. He concluded from thence, that there are men, as well as beasts, whose nature it is to be useless, and who are fit neither for society nor slavery : He therefore sent to the colony of Sophir to desire workmen, and a garrison, and dispatch'd another vessel to acquaint Astartus with the important discovery he had made. He added, that as, by finishing the tour of Africa, he was going to be farther distant from him, he might perhaps send no more accounts of his progress directly to him, and that he would take the succours he might want for the establishment of new colonies from the nearest of those he had already settled ; but that as Phœnicia was to be their first source,

* Lib. 3.

he urg'd him to press the king of Tyre, that he would augment his imbarkations during the whole course of their voyage.

WHILE he waited at the cape of the Passage for the return of the vessels he had sent to the colony of Sophir, he advanc'd far enough into the inlands to discover the nature of them : Tho' they were not cultivated, they appear'd to him to be very fertile ; and he found a great number of trees, one of which would afford shade for an hundred men at once *. This encouraged the Phœnicians afterwards to plant a garden there, in which they collected all the plants of the three known parts of the world †.

AS SOON as the workmen were arriv'd, Cheres began his fort ; and as he resolv'd to see it finish'd, he had time to receive an answer and thanks from Astartus : After which he put to sea again, and began to sail along the shore towards the north. Pursuing the same method they had observ'd on the other side, they stopp'd first at the river of Mountains, and afterwards at that of Elephants, names taken from the circumstances of the places. The inhabitants to the tro-

* Dapper, p. 383.

† The Dutch have since attempted to do the same at the cape, with the addition of American plants.

pick were pretty near the same as those on the corresponding eastern side. He call'd those which were nearest the cape, Grigri-quas ; and those nearest to the tropick, Namaquas. But in this whole extent the Phœnicians did not think it worth while to settle either habitation or trade.

As they proceeded, they saw, a little above the southern tropick, a very large river (the Bravagha) : Cheres did not put them upon landing there, because this river was border'd by frightful Desarts on the right and on the left, as far as they could see ; nevertheless, as he had already sail'd a good way on the coast of this western part of Africa, without having fix'd any factory for the benefit of the Phœnician trade, and for the conveniency of sailors that might come hereafter, he intended to make a settlement at the first place where he lik'd the soil : but he was likewise desirous it might be somewhat nearer to the equator than the tropic, forasmuch as of all the countries included under the torrid zone, those which are nearest to the tropicks are the most expos'd to the scorching of the perpendicular rays of the sun, by the long stay this planet makes, as well in those circles, as in those which are next to them. This observation has been already made by Geminus * the astronomer,

* Elem. astron. c. 13.

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in the time of Augustus, and quoting even Polybius, who liv'd in the time of Scipio. They at last discover'd three arms of a river united, the mouth of which made a very large round bay. This was what Cheres was the most desirous of, because having a pretty large fleet, he look'd upon a good port to be the greatest advantage for a place of settlement; and this prov'd to his wish *. The water of these three arms is brackish, and the Phœnician colony afterwards drew all the salt they had occasion for out of it; but a little above, towards the equator, is a river of fresh water. Cheres mark'd out the ground for a fort and a city in the space between them, situate about the twelfth degree of south latitude.

The country began here to be very champian; and the plain, upon which were a few verdant hillocks, seem'd to be extremely fertile, being cover'd with fruit-trees of different sorts, some common, and others known neither in Egypt nor Phœnicia, but as yet no inhabitant was to be seen; Cheres imagining however that there must be some in the neighbourhood, and not knowing how they might be inclin'd to strangers, gave his people to understand, that it was

* Dapper calls it Catonbelle in the kingdom of Benguela, p. 375.

highly

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highly necessary to have a place of arms, a place of defence, and a rendezvous, in case they should be oblig'd to hostilities; he therefore began his works with only the people he had brought with him; they then amounted to more than twenty thousand men, who, one with another, knew all arts: The hero himself put his hand to the work, and he form'd out of all the ships companies a body of workmen under a governor, who by his order and example gave direction to the whole. Their horses, which were of no use to them for warlike expeditions, were very serviceable for their carrying and drawing of burthens. The neighbouring desarts furnish'd them with more stones and sand than they could have dug out of the richest quarries; but their only difficulty was, to find out those places which contain'd mines of iron, which were much more necessary for the common services of life, and much scarcer in these climates, than gold-mines.

Their works were considerably advanc'd, and they began to have a fort, and the walls of a city, of far greater strength than all the habitations of the savages, which consisted only in hamlets, some bigger, and some less, inclos'd with hurdles. Cheres had already given it the name of New Tyre, and that of New Phœnicia to the plain in which he propos'd to settle; when he perceiv'd some

blacks on the eminencies, who came to see their works : He order'd, that without giving over their work, they should let them come up to them, if they thought fit. They approach'd every day nearer by degrees, and at last detached three of the most likely of them with olive-branches in their hands, which, by a tacit consent, seems to be a symbol of peace with all nations. These men being come to the outermost post, made signs that they desir'd to speak with the governor. Cheres immediately sent for his Ethiopians, and those who seem'd to be the most ingenious among his rowers. One of his views in chusing these out of the captives of Sophir, was the hopes he had of finding interpreters among them ; for he imagin'd, with some grounds, that as the country of Agysimb, possess'd by the Anthropophagi or Canibals, extended from the eastern to the opposite western shore, there could be no very great difference in the language. He himself, by accustoming those rowers to the Phœnician tongue, got as much knowledge as he could of theirs : So that, by assisting one another, they understood that the eldest of the three negroes, addressing himself to Cheres, spoke in substance as follows :

“ MY LORD ! Tho' the small number of
 “ men and women, whom you may have
 “ observ'd on these hills, and who have
 + “ sent

“ sent us to you, be as yet strangers in
“ these parts, in which we have been but
“ a very short time ; yet we see by your
“ complexion, by the fashion of your ha-
“ bits, and by the grandeur of your works,
“ that you come from a nation more distant
“ and more happy than ours. We were
“ inhabitants of Congo, a vast country,
“ which reaches from the river Coansa to
“ the river Gabon, under the equinoctial
“ line : We fly from the bloody persecu-
“ tion of a king, of whom we have not
“ had reason to complain long ; but for a
“ year last past he has abandon’d himself
“ to the counsels of an inhuman minister,
“ who puts him upon exercising fantastical
“ cruelties on his subjects, for no other
“ pretence but to prove the authority he
“ has over them. These evils might per-
“ haps be of short duration ; but we are ex-
“ pos’d to another which is permanent, and
“ even increasing : The chief temple of our
“ Moquies, or idols, is at Sogno, the resi-
“ dence of our king. The barbarous priests
“ who sacrifice in this temple, offer human
“ victims to them, which they send for suc-
“ cessively out of every part of the king-
“ dom *. These cruel sacrifices were never

* This sort of sacrifices is mention’d in Dapper, p. 360. speaking of the kingdom of Angola, which belongs to Congo.

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“ offer’d up heretofore, except at the en-
 “ trance of the new year ; but under the
 “ appearance of a greater piety, they have
 “ obtain’d the power of repeating them
 “ monthly ; and they clandestinely share
 “ with the ministers the presents made
 “ by the rich to be exempt from so dire
 “ a fate. Therefore, as we foresaw that
 “ it would soon come to the lot of our
 “ families, who are poor, some days ago we
 “ pass’d the Coansa, partly in our canoes,
 “ and partly by swimming, expecting to
 “ find shelter in this uninhabited country.
 “ As soon as we perceiv’d your formidable
 “ camp, we fear’d we were ran out of one
 “ danger into another : However, having
 “ first observ’d at a distance, and afterwards
 “ nearer at hand, the behaviour of the nu-
 “ merous people under your command, we
 “ hop’d that men who were so disciplin’d,
 “ and so good-natur’d to one another, would
 “ be favourable to unfortunate persons, who
 “ seek nothing but the security of their
 “ lives. ”

HERE Cheres interrupted the deputy, and
 told him, in a tone which gave him full
 assurance his hopes were not in vain, that
 his whole nation should find a father in him,
 and brethren in all that were about him :
 You shall, added he, have the advantage of
 your own labours ; but, what is yet more
 material,

material, you may, if you will, partake with us of the manners and customs of civiliz'd nations, to which you already seem more conformable than any of the people we have hitherto met with in our voyage. At these words the three negroes threw themselves at Cheres's feet; and rising again immediately, they told him, That those who had sent them to him had given them orders, upon receiving a favourable answer from him, to implore him to be their king. Cheres answer'd them; " To be your
" king is not in my power: I am an
" Egyptian by birth, and of the kingdom
" of Memphis: The fortune of a war betwixt the king of Memphis and another
" king of Egypt, has brought me into the
" hands of the Phœnicians, one of the two
" nations which compose the army you see
" before you. Having been favourably receiv'd by them, I have devoted my self
" for a time to their service; but when I
" took upon me the command of their fleet,
" I declared, that after having attempted
" to settle their trade on all the coasts of
" Africa, I would return to my own country, and so put an end to my voyage.
" Nor can any of those I have under my
" command be your king, because they
" themselves are subjects. As their kings
" furnish them with the means to visit these
" distant seas for no other end but to con-
" tribute

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“ tribute to the happiness of their people ;
 “ all they undertake is for the service of
 “ their sovereign. But I shall not depart
 “ from this shore, of which we were the first
 “ who took possession, ’till I have founded
 “ and secur’d the dominion of the Phœni-
 “ cians over it. By virtue of the power
 “ invested in me, I shall leave a governor
 “ here, who shall command in the name of
 “ the king of Phœnicia, upon the conditions
 “ I have right given me to prescribe, and
 “ to which he shall be ty’d down by a
 “ solemn oath. Among the Phœnicians,
 “ my followers, I shall make choice of him,
 “ who I think enters best into my intention
 “ and views ; which are, to render the
 “ very people we have conquer’d happy,
 “ and especially those who, like you, have
 “ submitted to us of their own free will. ”

HE immediately order’d these deputies
 to bring all the families who follow’d them
 before him. He distributed them into the
 fields round about the city, to cultivate the
 lands he made them proprietors of ; thereby
 to encourage them to work, and to trade,
 by bartering their commodities, and the
 produce of their hunting and fishing, for all
 sorts of useful and curious merchandizes
 which his fleet had brought. He had even
 the complaisance, or rather policy, to make
 the shells which these savages had brought
 along

along with them, and which serv'd them instead of money *, to pass through his whole fleet. It was some time before these wise steps had their full effect : but from the beginning these black refugees were so satisfy'd with the government they were fall'n under, that they sent to Cheres the same deputy, whom he had nominated to be always attending him as their agent. This deputy told Cheres, That his country-men, observing that there was more good land in the plain than they could cultivate, offer'd to send some of their company privately, one by one, into their native country, to bring over other families, who would with joy accept of the conditions they themselves were so satisfy'd with. Cheres answer'd them to this proposal, That he would receive with the same marks of friendship all those who would come of their own accord to this new habitation ; but that he did not design they should take any measures to seduce the subjects of a neighbouring king, with whom he would endeavour to establish a commerce : That he even thought of sending an ambassy to him, before he knew of their escape, or at least the place of their retreat ; and therefore he desired to be inform'd of him, in what manner their king

* This custom is yet in vogue on the coasts of Africa and America. Vid. Dapper on Africa, and father Laffieau of the manners of the savages of America.

receiv'd

receiv'd strangers, and what was the product of their country?

THE negro answer'd, That he had hardly ever seen any other strangers come to Congo but their neighbours, who inhabited a country on the other side of the line, call'd the kingdom of Guiney: Our king, added he, always receiv'd them very graciously, and they are allow'd a great liberty in our parts, to which they arrive in barks something larger than ours; they come in search of precious stones, elephants teeth, so large that those of one elephant weigh two quintals; but above all, of bezoar stones, which are found in the head of these animals, and which are accounted of great use in physick *: They are likewise curious in the skins of our buffalo's, tygers, and above all of our beavers †, which are so scarce, that no one wears 'em in Congo without the king's leave: To conclude, they buy slaves which our king takes from among the roving nations which are in the middle of the countries to the east of his kingdom.

CHERES having got this information, sent away the negro, and made immediate preparation for the ambassy he design'd, that he might not surprize the king with the

* Dapper, p. 345, 346.

† A sort of castors.

unexpected

unexpected sight of a whole fleet. In the mean time, as he was desirous to be perfectly instructed in the character of this prince, and his subjects, with an eye to the security of the trade that might be carry'd on with them, he took it into his head to be himself one of his own ambassadors, conceal'd under a feign'd name.

BUT before he departed he sent a vessel to demand a detachment from the colony of Sophir, greater than what he had settled at the cape of the Passage, because New Tyre was actually a city. He desir'd however, that only one lieutenant might be sent at the head of this colony; because he had cast his eye upon one of the Phœnician officers who was with him, to command in chief the city, and the new inhabitants, who were come to him from Congo, and whom he had already dispers'd over the whole country to till it. He wrote the same account, but more at large, to Astartus by another vessel. He nam'd this officer to him, tho' as yet he had not acquainted him with the dignity he design'd him; because he would have the ambassy to the king of Congo derive its authority alone from the commander of the fleet. In fine, he added, That he would confer the title of viceroy on this new governor; not only because the real possession of the territory, and the rule over
people

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people who had freely and voluntarily subjected themselves to the Phœnicians, seem'd to require it, but to bring this chief into greater esteem with the king of Congo, and the other neighbouring nations.

RESOLVING therefore to enter on his ambassy before the answer came to his letters, he caused two vessels of a middling size to be equipp'd in a very handsome manner, and without any appearance of being fitted out for war. Himself, with the two other ambassadors, one of whom was a Phœnician, and the other a Taprobanian, were very neatly attir'd, as were all their attendants, without having any other arms, either offensive or defensive, but swords by their sides. These two vessels were laden with all sorts of necessaries convenient in themselves, and curious with respect to their fashions and ornaments. Several coffers and cabinets, which were beautiful on the outside, were fill'd with stuffs of gold and silk of all colours, and, what was equally precious, with cloth of Tyre of a double purple dye, which were design'd for presents to the king and his officers. These two vessels carry'd likewise a great quantity of other goods of less value, but all useful, the novelty of which could not but surprize the eyes of the savages. All his people had orders to distribute them among private persons,

persons, with whom they might have concerns in the establishment of their commerce.

AFTER these preparations, the two vessels, adorn'd with streamers at the tops of the masts, which would have touch'd the water had they not been born up by the winds, came before Sogno, a city where the king resided, at the mouth of the Zairus, a great river which preserves the freshness of its waters sixty miles within the sea * ; the course of it is almost equidistant from the Coansa on the side of the tropick, and the Gabon under the equator, and runs betwixt Angola on the south, and Loango on the north, two great provinces which compose the kingdom of Congo. As soon as they came before the port, near enough to see and be seen from the shore, Cheres caus'd trumpets and kettle-drums to sound upon the prows of the two vessels, which play'd during a whole hour the most gay and lively tunes that had been compos'd in Phœnicia. This sight drew all the inhabitants of the city to the shore. The king himself, whose palace being only a timber-house, a little higher than the rest, had a prospect to the sea, was overjoy'd to see such magnificent and gallant strangers, and

* Barros. decad. 1. c. 3.

resolv'd

resolv'd to receive them with great marks of esteem and friendship. Cheres perceiving at a distance what an effect his very appearance had, immediately sent a long-boat on shore all over painted and gilt, even to the very oars, to desire the head-officer they should meet with at landing, to inform the king, that these two vessels had on board three ambassadors from Cheres the Egyptian, representing the persons of the king of Phœnicia, and of the kings of Taprobane, and commanding in their name a fleet compos'd of these two nations. He order'd them to declare previously, that these ambassadors were only come with a peaceful intention, to seek an alliance with the king, and to settle a trade with his subjects. The king, pursuant to his natural inclination, answer'd, That the ambassadors should be very welcome, and invited them to come immediately into the haven.

WHILE this answer was bringing, the king's minister, who was ever mischievous, either from deliberation or from custom, and who knew no better how to behave himself to strangers, who by their appearance might have commanded respect, than to a people under slavery, was blinded upon this occasion with a pride very ill-tim'd for his master : He persuaded him, that it was of importance for him to let his grandeur appear

pear to the ambassadors of so many kings, of whose names they had made such a parade, and to terrify them with some sight very different from what they had expos'd to view. He advis'd the king, in the first place, to demand of them, at their first audience, such prostrations as he did not exact from the ambassadors of the kings his neighbours, and that he should next let them see the profound obedience of his subjects: By that, said he, you will convince them how dangerous it will be to offend you, and divert them from undertakings which may be design'd against your dominions with this fleet they tell us of.

THE ambassadors were made acquainted with this new form of salutation as soon as they landed. The two other ambassadors, who talk'd in the Phœnician language only, that they might not be understood by any but themselves, said to Cheres, that it would be impossible to accept of these conditions: They represented to him, that besides the honour of Egypt, the name of which was respected by the whole world, they were to maintain the dignity of their kings, and even that of their own persons, which they esteem'd far preferable to all the species of animals they had met with in Africa. Cheres answer'd them with mildness; That these savages deserv'd regard as they were fellow-creatures,

creatures, and that those nations which were now the most civiliz'd, were at first in the same state as this. I must own, continu'd he, that I feel a tenderneſs for these people, in proportion to the need they stand in of our assistance ; but with consideration to our selves alone, the true honour of an ambassay is to succeed in the business propos'd, and disputes about ceremonies ought never to be a hindrance to a design which is really advantageous : In a word, our whole business at present is to settle you in Congo, and I foresee at a distance that this affair will turn at last to your advantage.

THE three ambassadors therefore enter'd in a graceful manner into a great hut adorn'd with mats of different colours. The king was seated upon a throne of red wood, rais'd by five steps : He had a great number of officers about him, of whom his prime minister, standing, was the first in rank. Cheres, to shew an example to his two companions, fell immediately upon his knees on the ground ; nor did this prince, tho' descended from the most noble blood in the world, disdain to touch with his forehead the lowest step of a throne on which was seated a black savage, more than half naked, having nothing on his body but some ermins, nor any thing on his head but a cap loaded with feathers and pendants
of

of ivory and coral. Cheres then arose, and gave an account of his commission, such as he had already declar'd. He desir'd the king's friendship, in the name of Cheres the Egyptian, who was now incamp'd in an uninhabited country on the other side of the Coanfa, who at sea represented the king of Phœnicia, and the kings of Taprobane, in whose name, he assur'd the king of Congo, that they desir'd nothing more than to settle a trade in his country, which would be advantageous even to his own people. The savage king, who could not take his eyes off of this ambaffador, whose phyfiog-nomy seem'd to have something in it superior to other men, was more and more aſham'd of the error he had been led into : To repair it therefore in ſome meaſure, as ſoon as Cheres had finiſh'd his diſcourſe, he came down from his throne, took him by the hand, and aſſur'd him, that he who had ſent him, and the kings he had nam'd, ſhould always find him a ſincere friend, and a faithful ally. He gave full power to him and his people to enter into ſuch articles of trade with his ſubjects as might be of mutual advantage to both. Upon this Cheres begg'd the king to go and view without-doors the preſents he had to offer, which the hall of audience would not have contain'd, tho' there had been no body in it. While the king was admiring the mag-

nificence of them, the minister interrupted him very disagreeably, to shew him on the summit of a very high tower of wood three negroes, who only waited for his order to cast themselves down in the sight of all the people. Cheres, whose grief it was impossible for him to stifle, said immediately to the king, "Sire, Such a spectacle is so contrary to our customs, that I cannot forbear acquainting your majesty it would be an affront offer'd to us, which I can't believe is your intention." The king instantly gave orders to his minister to go up himself to the top of the tower, and to acquaint these three men that the strangers had sav'd their lives.

IN the mean time these new guests had dispers'd themselves through all Sogno, and fill'd these poor people with a joy as yet unknown to them. They gave them notions of trade which they never had before; they bought of them a great number of things they had no need of, only to let them into the nature of barter, informing them at the same time what were the choicest productions of their country which foreigners would the most desire, that they might make provision of them. The Egyptian priests heal'd their sick and wounded, with an extreme good-nature, and wonderful success; whereas their common physicians were wont to ex-

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pose

pose them to operations more cruel and more dangerous than their ailments.

ON the other hand, Cheres, who perceiv'd that the king had a regard for him, took the advantage of it to discourse with him as often as he could. He taught him maxims of equity with respect to government ; he inform'd him after what manner the kings of polite nations treated their subjects ; and sometimes, to heighten his ideas, he told him, That their power did not consist in a tyrannical authority, but was founded in the hearts and in the love of their people. He added, That if he desir'd to settle a real commerce with the most renowned nations of the earth, as he seem'd inclin'd to do, he must in some measure embrace their manners : That they would have no satisfaction in coming to a country to be eye-witnesses of massacres without any form or shadow of justice : That strangers would not believe there was a sufficient fence against crimes, and consequently would not think their persons secure, in a kingdom where punishments, which ought to be reserv'd for thieves and murderers, were inflicted on the innocent, at the meer caprice of the prince : That, in short, he did not conceive how he himself could be safe from the most open assaults, having no threats to terrify those with, who should set upon his

D 2

life,

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life, than such as he put daily in execution against even those who were ready to defend it.

THE king, mov'd with this discourse, said to Cheres, That tho' he was sensible of the inferiority of his knowledge to that of polite nations, he always had a secret reluctance at these cruelties, which he was oblig'd to exercise : But, added he, we are guided here by priests and soothsayers, who know all the secrets of our moquies, and threaten me and my people with the most terrible disasters, if we resist their counsels ever so little. Our idols, who have at all times requir'd human victims of them, were formerly satisfy'd with having them offer'd once in a year, but now insist on this sacrifice every moon. My minister, who is appointed me by the priests themselves, has given me to understand, that to keep my subjects in a continual disposition to give up their lives upon the first summons from the moquies, I ought to use them to part as easily with them at the first signal from their king. Cheres immediately reply'd ; My lord, What greater misfortune can the gods pour down upon you and your people, than to suffer you thus to authorize your priests, who are their murderers, by making yourself a murderer of your subjects ? You will by this constrain them to desert your kingdom

kingdom one by one, if not in crowds, and to deliver you as a prey to the first enemy that may offer to seize your dominions. Believe me, sire, every religion which represents the gods as cruel, and all politicks that tend to make kings wicked, are the inventions of bad men.

THESE last words were a little too hard for a savage to digest, who was infatuated with a superstition, which no arguments were capable of removing : so he left Cheres without making him any answer. But that was not all. The king himself would not have been secure of his life if he had shewn indifference to the least hint of the will of the idols signified by the priests. Diodorus* relates, that the priests of Meroe in Ethiopia sent a message to their king, whenever they pleased, to command him to lay down his life. They acquainted him, that the gods had order'd it so, and that it would be a crime to violate a command from them. They added several other arguments proper to impose on weak minds, and the ancient kings submitted to these unjust orders. Ergamenes, who reign'd at Meroe about the time that the Ptolomies reign'd in Egypt, and who was instructed in the Grecian philosophy, was the first

* Lib. 3.

who presum'd to oppose this superstition. Having form'd, says this historian, a resolution truly worthy of a king, he with his army attack'd the fortress in which was formerly the golden temple of the Ethiopians. He there caus'd the throats of all the priests to be cut, and instituted a new worship, more conformable to the idea men ought to have of the gods. Cheres had his thoughts bent upon something of the like kind ; but being unwilling to do any thing in the least repugnant to the laws of nations, he waited for proper times and occasions.

HIS hopes were not in vain, and he soon acquir'd a right to deliver this unhappy people, and their king himself, from oppression ; by revenging an injury done to his embassy, and to the two nations he commanded. As he had been above a month in Sogno, the priests, besides the information they had from the minister, had time to discover, that the chief ambassador held frequent conferences with the king ; which they suspected were not in favour of their intrigues. They might have found opportunities enough of discussing the matter with Cheres himself. He had more than once attempted to discourse with them ; but had found them men of unsociable tempers, who even affected to look upon these strangers as prophane persons, and to turn aside from them when they

they came in their way. They therefore sent a deputation in form to the king, by whom they denounc'd, in the name of their Moquies, the approaching downfal of his empire; if he did not immediately expel those strangers, who only aim'd to abolish their worship, and to change their religion. The king being terrify'd, and confirm'd in his fear by the minister, was not a moment in determining to send an order to the ambassadors to quit the city and port with all their people that very day. Cheres with joy obey'd a command which gave him right to take another title than that of ambassador and guest. He left a general regret at parting in the hearts of these people, who saw themselves abandon'd without consolation to the barbarity of their priests. However, he put himself under such a restraint, that he wou'd not give them any hopes, which might discover his design. This was sufficient to keep it a profound secret: For the king confiding entirely in the secret revelations these soothsayers boasted of, neglected all human precaution, and left whatever concern'd the safety of his person and kingdom to their care.

HOWEVER, the expulsion of the ambassadors gave occasion to a great number of other families of Congo to follow the example of the former, and to retire towards

New Phœnicia. Therefore Cheres, while he return'd by sea, carry'd away by land, without his knowledge, inhabitants enough to form a whole nation. He had given orders to the Phœnician captain, whom he had left in his place when he went upon the ambassy, to form the savages he had already taken under his protection to military exercises, that they might be able to defend not only themselves but the Phœnicians in their new settlement. He took the same care with regard to those who came afterwards. But he limited them in such manner to the defensive alone, that he refus'd their succours when they offer'd to accompany him at his second departure for Congo. He told them, that a commander of a civiliz'd people was not come thither to teach them to bear arms against their own country. He added, that he himself was not going to wage war with the inhabitants of Congo, who had given him no cause for complaint, and for whom he had a great affection. That he had no design against their king, in whom he had discover'd a perfect good character, and a real love for his subjects. That he only meant to open his eyes with regard to his priests, by exterminating these only authors of his involuntary cruelties. But that to remove all suspicion of his having attempted to engage subjects in a revolt against their sovereign, he would employ

employ none but his old troops in this expedition.

CHERES departed therefore from the haven of New Tyre, with a magnificence far greater, but of another kind, than that of his ambassy. It was indeed rather to command respect and fear in the minds of these savage people, and to give them an idea of the power of civiliz'd nations, than any necessity he had for many troops, that he went against them with a naval force. The inhabitants of these coasts had no knowledge of any other attacks but incursions and surprizes, nor of other defences than by crowds brought together in haste, in which they shew'd more courage than discipline. Cheres us'd therefore often to tell his officers, that their victories over such enemies could have nothing in them worthy of praise, but the use they could make of them. His design, however, was not to shew all his fleet in the haven of Sogno at first. But having observ'd, during his residence in this city, that the temple was situated on the south side, without the walls, and resolving not to give the priests time to escape, he went before, with the six largest of his vessels, to land at this place in the night. Accordingly at break of day the temple was environ'd, without any opposition, by four thousand men, completely arm'd from head to foot. The body
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of the fleet consisting still of more than thirty vessels, of different sorts and sizes, enter'd at the same time into the port, publishing every where, that they design'd no harm to the people, but putting all to the sword who made any resistance. The commanders having only to deal with savages, who mistrusted nothing, took the king and his minister alive, in pursuance of the orders given them. They not only spar'd all the women and children; but sending thro' the whole city those who were acquainted as well with it as the greater part of the inhabitants, by their last voyage thither, they in less than three hours, of themselves, appeas'd the tumult they had rais'd.

CHERES, who still guarded the temple with his four thousand men, sent for the king and his minister, to be eye-witnesses of the execution he was going about. There, in the presence of the chief men of the city, and of a great number of the people, who were not suffer'd to advance but in great order, Cheres thus address'd himself to the king, who was in a deep consternation to see the face of his ambassador in the commander of this victorious fleet. Infatuated king, said he, who have suffer'd yourself to be brought to your fall, by the bloody means which your abominable priests prescribed, in order to secure you from it, you will

will now see the accomplishment of their false and ignorant predictions fall on their own heads. And thou, miscreant, added he, turning to the minister, thou who hast been accomplice with the thieves and murderers shut up in this den, prepare to partake of the punishment of those with whom thou hast shar'd the riches. The minister at this reproach began to justify himself: But his mouth was soon stopp'd by the testimony of the most considerable inhabitants, who accus'd him to his face of having receiv'd presents from them to be exempted from the number of the victims. 'Twas an additional mortification to the king, to hear from the mouth of a stranger, what pass'd, without his knowledge, in the heart of his dominions.

CHERES then caus'd it to be proclaim'd by sound of trumpet round the temple, and the college of the priests, which encompass'd it, that they might send out their wives and children, to whom no harm should be done. They receiv'd no immediate answer to this proclamation, but in a moment after they saw the whole building in flames. These desperadoes having with attention observ'd from within what was done and said without, chose rather to bury their shame under their own ashes, than to expose themselves to the examination of a well-

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well-instructed judge, to the curses of an incensed people, and to the rigour of a punishment, the nature of which the conqueror had not yet declar'd. The fire, which burnt every where with equal fury, and seem'd for a long time as if carefully stirr'd up, consum'd in two hours this edifice, which, though extreamly large, was built only of timber and canes.

WHEN the flames were out, for want of fuel to feed upon, so frightful were the ruins of this conflagration, that in some bodies they could hardly distinguish a remainder of form. Cheres turning to the standers-by, said : People of Congo, it is a visible effect of the favour of the gods towards you, that the sentence pronounc'd by these wretches against themselves has destroy'd the very seeds of their barbarous superstition, which a motive of compassion would perhaps have inclin'd me to preserve in their wives and children. But it is not enough that we have abolish'd a false and criminal worship; we must raise upon the ruins of it one, which is founded upon reason, and worthy of the deity to whom it shall be offer'd. It is not my design to oblige you to receive by force the particular gods of Egypt, Phœnicia, or the Indies; but all the nations of the world agree in a general idea of a first being, the author and preserver of
nature,

nature. If the gods of every nation are only several symbols under which they represent the different perfections, or the different gifts of this only sovereign being, the number of gods will only be the number of his attributes or his favours. You have in your deliverance a signal cause for celebrating his goodness: I will therefore assist you in laying the foundation of a temple to be consecrated to the good gods.* I have in my company Egyptian priests, who are allowed to be the most learned of all men in divine worship. They shall instruct you whatever is necessary in this article, which is of the greatest consequence of all others, as well to the state, as to every particular member of it. They will tell you, that tho' goodness, love of mankind, and a desire of rendering them happy, be the principal lights in which we are to view a deity, especially in opposition to the horrid and impious ideas your priests attempted to give you of him: This same bounteous deity is nevertheless a wrathful deity against all sorts of crimes and injustice, against kings who are enemies to, and persecutors of their people, and against subjects who are rebels and traitors to their kings. Cheres ended this discourse by telling them, that the day having been

* Cicero de Nat. Deor. 3. 34. mentions the inscription BONORUM DEORUM put upon the ancient temples of Greece.

sufficiently employ'd by these first measures he had just taken concerning religion, he would the next day take care of what concern'd their political government; that in a few days they should know the fate of their king and his minister, of whom he would take care; and that in the mean time every one might return to his own home, in peace, and behave himself just as if no manner of alteration had happen'd in the kingdom.

As soon as the crowd was dispers'd, he caus'd the king to be conducted, without speaking to him, to the house which serv'd him for a palace. He set a very secure guard upon him, leaving him the choice of six persons, either of his family or his servants, to attend him, who were not allow'd to correspond with any one from without, 'till further orders. But for the minister, he was chain'd down by himself in a lower prison, there to wait his doom.

THE two following days, Cheres and the most prudent of the Phœnicians, founded the opinions of the chief inhabitants of Sogno with respect to their king. They appear'd to be very much in his favour; and these people, though savages, had equity enough to discern his natural goodness thro' the cruelties which the priests and his minister

fter had compell'd him to exercife. Not but that Cheres was before fatisfy'd of this difpofition of their minds, by the difcourfes he had held with them at feveral times : but as his defign was to replace the king upon his throne, he was glad to have this formal testimony from the people, that the king might have the greater affection for his fubjects, to whom he would partly be oblig'd for his reftoration, and that the fubjects might be the more ftrictly devoted to a king in fome meafure of their own election. Therefore on the morning of the third day, he caus'd a ftage to be erected on one fide of the fquare, on which was plac'd a throne of five fteps ; and on the other fide, but fomewhat lower, a fcaffold. All the marines being partly difpers'd in the feveral quarters of the city, and partly drawn up in the fquare, the king and his minifter were brought thither. The minifter was firft plac'd upon the fcaffold on his knees, with his face turn'd towards the people, and behind him was an executioner, who held him bound. Cheres, follow'd by the Phœnician officer, who had been the fecond ambaffador, afcended the ftage on the other fide, and then the king was fet on it, guarded by four men, who, however, did not lay hands on him. There, all ftanding at the foot of the throne, Cheres, having prepar'd his fpeech in the language of the country,

country, that he might be understood by every body, spake as follows: “ Mani,
 “ (which was the king’s proper name) your
 “ dominions belong to the Phœnicians by a
 “ conquest so much the more just, as their
 “ first intention was not to deprive you of
 “ them. This nation, which boasts of
 “ being the eldest daughter of Egypt, the
 “ ancient country of all the gods, and the
 “ origin of all nations, did not disdain to
 “ send an ambassy to a savage king like
 “ you. This fleet, which had already been
 “ victorious upon all the coasts of Africa
 “ on which it had cruiz’d, instead of be-
 “ ginning with you by declaring war, and
 “ reducing you to slavery like your neigh-
 “ bours, gave you the preference by seek-
 “ ing your friendship, and offering you their
 “ alliance, to instruct and guide you in what
 “ manner you ought to have receiv’d them.
 “ Their ambassy appear’d in splendour be-
 “ fore your haven. The Phœnicians con-
 “ verted their formidable power into a po-
 “ lite magnificence, and their invincible
 “ forces into rich presents. You were pleas’d
 “ to be insensible of these plain marks.
 “ You insulted the ambassadors of civiliz’d
 “ nations, to whom you ow’d respect. You
 “ made those men, whose society was an
 “ honour to you, prostrate themselves be-
 “ fore you. Not satisfy’d with this affront,
 “ you drove these ambassadors from your
 “ capital

“ capital city, at a time when they were
“ heaping their bounties upon it, and en-
“ deavouring by counsels directed to your-
“ self, and consolations with respect to your
“ people, to soften the superstitious cru-
“ elty of your administration. Notwith-
“ standing all this, the Phœnicians, though
“ injur’d, and at the same time in power,
“ now change their just resentment into fa-
“ vour. They restore you to your throne,
“ and put you again in possession of your
“ dominions. Their protection and the free
“ and voluntary intercourse they consent to
“ carry on with your people, will make
“ this possession more secure than it was be-
“ fore, while your negligence and ignorance
“ of every thing that was transacted within
“ and without your dominions, laid you
“ open to the invasion of every other na-
“ tion, which might not have had the can-
“ dour of the Egyptians, nor the modera-
“ tion of the Phœnicians : But as you are
“ a conquer’d king you must now render
“ that homage to the Phœnicians which is
“ their due. The Phœnician commander,
“ whom you see here with me, and who
“ was my second ambassador, is the person
“ whom, by virtue of the general commis-
“ sion given me, I constitute viceroy of
“ New Phœnicia, which we have founded
“ and establish’d on the other side of the
“ river of Coanza. It is to him, as repre-
Vol. II. E “ sentative

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“sentative of the king of Phœnicia, that
“you are now to direct your homage.”

CHERES immediately caus'd this officer to ascend the throne, and making the king kneel upon the stage, he commanded him to bow his forehead to the lowermost step of the throne. He then acquainted him, that the form of his homage would be read to him, and that he must repeat it aloud, phrase by phrase, upon his knees. This form was drawn up in the following terms. “I, the king of Congo, restor'd by Cheres the Egyptian, commanding a fleet of the king of Phœnicia, and of the kings of Taprobane, who had conquer'd and made me prisoner, make an open and solemn confession of the injuries I by evil advice was induc'd to offer the noble ambassadors who bore the names of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Taprobane, civiliz'd nations I ought to have respected. I acknowledge the king of Phœnicia my lord and sovereign, to whom I swear, by the name of the gods, submission, fidelity, and service. I likewise acknowledge Aserymus, the Phœnician, now sitting on my throne, as viceroy of New Phœnicia, founded on the confines of my dominions. I promise to receive and follow the counsels and instructions which he shall give me, in order to cultivate a trade in my kingdom, which may be agreeable to the king of
Phœnicia,

Phœnicia, whose vassal I declare myself to be, in my own name and in the name of my successors. * ”

THEN Cheres caus'd the king to rise up, and having bid him ascend the throne, from whence the Phœnician was just descended, he thus spoke to him : “ King of Congo, the Phœnicians for ever forget the injuries you have done them ; knowing you were not the first author of them, but that they alone proceeded from the suggestions of your minister, and the threats of your priests. It is for the same reason they restore you the sovereign power over your people, who, having been strictly examin'd for these two days past, have born testimony of your equity, and of your natural goodness, of which I was likewise convinc'd. If the cruelties you have exercis'd over them had been of your own imagination, we should have set another king to rule over them : But they have desir'd your restoration. If they have render'd you this justice, at a time when all outward appearances were against you ; if they were faithful to you when you abandon'd them to the barbarity of your priests ; what affection, what zeal have you not reason to expect from them,

* In the year 1660. a king of Congo, being restor'd by the Portuguese, became vassal to Don Sebastian, king of Portugal. V. Dapper, p. 358.

when, being convinc'd of the folly of a superstition, which we have now subverted and punish'd, you will rule over them with a gentle and reasonable authority? As an agreeable and advantageous commerce cannot be supported but with people who are contented and quiet; the Phœnicians, whose interest it is that you govern yours with goodness, have no less interest to keep them to the obedience they owe you."

CHERES had hardly done speaking, when the king, touch'd with the wisdom which appear'd in all the conduct and in the whole discourse of his conqueror, descended from his throne, and told him, in a manner not expected from a savage: "My lord, the Phœnicians ought to be satisfy'd with the testimonies of respect and dependency you have made me pronounce with regard to them: but I am not satisfy'd with myself with regard to you. Suffer me of my own accord to acknowledge in you a man superiour to them as well as me. What favourable deity has plac'd you at the head of their fleet, to bring welfare and happiness even to those nations who resist your favours? Your victory could alone deliver me from the cruel oppression of our priests and soothsayers. It is impossible for my subjects to rejoice more than I do at the extinction of their worship, and their race: Nothing shall hinder me for
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the future from regarding my subjects as my children." Here the king was interrupted by the acclamations by which the people express'd their affection for him, and the confidence they had in the sincerity of his promises. Cheres gave a free course to their joy for some time, and then making a sign with his hand for them to be silent, he said to the king: My lord, reascend your throne; you know the business of this day is not yet compleated.

At the same time, turning towards the minister, who waited his sentence on his knees on the scaffold: "And thou, wretch as thou art, said he, who art to be the victim and the seal of the publick joy; thou knowest, that if thy punishment was to be proportion'd to the number of thy fellow-subjects, which thy confederacy with the priests has caus'd to be slaughter'd, all the parts of thy body would not suffice for the torments thou ought'st to suffer. But I don't pretend to excite or nourish in the people a taste of vengeance. It is justice, and not passion, which ought to dictate the punishments of criminals. I won't even countenance a power in your kings to afflict arbitrary punishments, which is one of the most sinister tokens of tyranny. In a well-regulated state there ought only to be determin'd degrees of punishments, as near as can be proportion'd to

the enormity of different crimes ; the rigour of which may serve to terrify the wicked, but must not be subservient to the cruelty either of the prince or people. Even upon this supposition thy punishment would be yet dreadful : But considering the apprehension of death thou hast already lain under for three days, as well as the mortifications thou hast gone thro' in that time ; or rather, because pity is satisfy'd with less reparation than justice ; I have reserv'd for thee the easiest and shortest of all deaths, beheading. I had thoughts even of saving thy life, but all circumstances examin'd, thy pardon is impracticable. Thy country can have no compleat security but in thy death ; and there would always be room left to apprehend, that the complacency of thy king might restore thee to his favour." To this the minister only answer'd ; " If you would grant me my life, don't believe I would accept of it. I, as well as the king, and all this people, are sensible of the equity, and even of the humanity which presides over all your designs, and governs all your steps. I have deserv'd death, and death alone can put a period to my remorse. All I presume is, to recommend to your favour a young wife and a child of five years of age, whom I leave behind me. You need not be apprehensive of my crimes being reviv'd in them ; my wife ever disapprov'd of them, and she will

will take care to bring up my son in principles directly opposite to those I have unhappily pursued." Cheres immediately answer'd him: "Malefactors who at their death confess their crimes, are worthy of some favour. Thy request is granted on my part, and the king, who hears me, won't refuse the accomplishment of it." Cheres upon that turning his eyes away, gave a signal to the executioner, who with one blow of his scimeter struck off his head, which made three rebounds upon the scaffold.

CHERES then said to the king: "My lord, the circumspection I have us'd in taking away the life of a very great criminal may shew you of what value the lives of the innocent are among civiliz'd nations. By condemning your minister, I have sav'd you the concern it would have been to you to have done it. Besides, a king should never pronounce a sentence of death himself. He ought to leave the trials of malefactors to tribunals of justice, and only reserve to himself the moderation of punishments, or the pardon of the condemned, when he thinks such an example may be of more advantage than the execution of the sentence. King of Congo, and you his subjects, I from this instant lay down the authority I have exercis'd for three days, as your conqueror, because I believe it of no farther

service to you. I take upon me the condition of a stranger and a guest; and for the short time I have yet to stay amongst you, I shall concern myself no otherwise with your king, than by giving him my advice. I restore you to the obedience you owe to him, and I shall exhort him to make such use of it as can't be beneficial to you without being so to himself, forasmuch as the real interests of a king and his people are inseparable."

CHERES was punctual to his word: He gave every where the place of honour to the king; tho' he oblig'd him to yield it out of compliment in his own dominions to the viceroy of New Phœnicia; on condition that this viceroy should, for that very reason, do him the same honour, if he went to visit him in his new settlement. Applying himself next to matters of greater concern, he got the king's approbation to the plan of a temple sacred to the good gods, as given by the Egyptian priests. He consented to leave two of them in Congo to institute the new worship, and to instruct the people: And these two priests propos'd in time to prevail upon more of their companions from Memphis, to partake of their cares, and to extend them: the revenues of the former priests being from that time assign'd them.

CHERES

CHERES concerted with the king several regulations expedient for savages, who, consider'd as such, were pretty docile; but so plain as to be retain'd without the help of writing, of which these people had no knowledge. They supply'd the place of it however, by certain signs cut or engraven, the invention or interpretation of which seem'd to speak a great deal of ingenuity in them: But this is the very cause of inferiority in people who are savage, barbarous, or less instructed than others. They are oblig'd to spend so much of their endeavours and time to attain a knowledge of these signs, that they have almost none left for the study of the things themselves*. Cheres desir'd to see the inhabitants of Congo just in trade, and happy in their way; but he chose rather to make them tractable than polite. He thought it was for the interest of mankind in general, that there were savages, or men who knew neither the ornaments of the mind, nor the conveniencies of life. The fatigues and dangers in their huntings after wild beasts, which furnish us with the scarcest skins and most precious furs; their excursions, or rather tedious journies into

* This is just the case of those intricate methods for learning the sciences, which require more time than the sciences themselves would, if taught by an easy method.

the most inward parts of the continent, over unfordable rivers, and inaccessible mountains, in search of medicinal plants or substances, and several other productions of nature, are labours for which the least idea of a more gentle occupation would not fail of giving them distaste. He had, however, views something more advantageous for the refugees in New Phœnicia, whither he hasten'd to return. He left at Sogno only a factory or settlement for trade, which was to be dependent, as upon its centre, upon that he was going to establish at New Tyre.

As Cheres had employ'd near a year in his two voyages to Congo, he found at New Tyre the colony he expected; and an answer from Astartus, who advis'd him, that he extremely approv'd of the choice he had made in Asyremus for viceroy: And though they both knew the impartiality of Astartus, and his zeal for the benefit of the expedition, he very much surpriz'd them by an account, that the day after he had receiv'd the news, he had dispatch'd proposals to the court of Phœnicia, to make him intendant of the western commerce. It would be superfluous to relate here the answer which Asyremus made on this account, full of acknowledgments and respect. The bare relation of a settlement so favourable as this of New Phœnicia had engag'd the greater part
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of those who compos'd the colony, newly arriv'd, to bring all sorts of merchandizes, as to a city of trade open to all the western coasts of Africa : They found likewise a vend for them in the sequel, and that without waiting very long for it.

IMMEDIATELY after the installation of the viceroy, Cheres was thoughtful of giving a proper form to this new state. As for the inhabitants of the city, who were Phœnicians, islanders of Taprobane, and even Ethiopians, he had no innovations to make. With regard to religion, they had their several priests ; and with respect to the civil government, they were all oblig'd to conform to the laws of the Phœnicians. All his care was for the inhabitants of the country, natives of Congo, who were not to be treated like slaves, as at Sophir ; nor even as servants, as at Menuthias.

HE had taken care from the beginning, to have them instructed, in his absence, by the Egyptian priests he left behind him. They had apply'd themselves to this ministry with a great deal of zeal and goodness, and had already succeeded very well in it. A religion which tends very much to morality, as was that of the priests of Memphis, is alone sufficient to soften the most savage manners, and never fails of purging a nation
from

from those vices which are the most repugnant to society ; and is by so much the more proper to bring those to perfection in whom it finds more favourable dispositions.

HE next made them forbear their distant journies, and their dangerous huntings. He consider'd, that men long separated from one another by journies of several hundred leagues, such as the savages often undertook, never acquire that sweetness of temper and humanity which is attain'd in united habitations ; and this was the first motive of the ancient founders of cities. It was for the same reason he forbid them the hunting after wild beasts. But besides this reason, he had two other views of no less importance, and more general.

THE first was, that the inhabitants who remain'd at Congo, having no other trade but with what they brought from these long journies and great huntings, he would not deprive them of this means for subsistence or profit. It is a false policy of great traders to seek to impoverish their neighbours ; for they thereby lose the vend of their own merchandizes, which they then are not in a capacity to buy. Trade consists only in a circulation of different matters, caus'd, as it were, by equal powers. His second view was, to engage these savages to give them-
selves

selves intirely up to the improvement of their lands, very much neglected on all the coasts he had pursu'd, and almost unknown to the savages. Being extremely quick at any extraordinary labours, they are incapable of any long application, and appear at the same time very laborious and very slothful. Cheres however soon remedy'd this inconvenience on the one hand, by putting a stop to their excursions ; and on the other, by giving them a mutual right to one another's lands which they left untill'd. But to prevent any quarrels that might arise from these sorts of intermissions, they could not enter upon them but by a decree of the priests, whom he had constituted judges of all their differences. The necessity of subsistence, added to this emulation ; and the rigorous laws made to prevent begging, soon wrought upon these new inhabitants to bring the whole country to a great height of fertility. Of all advantages to a kingdom, the greatest is, to have all the necessaries of life within it self, and to be able even to furnish foreigners with them ; but, on the contrary, to borrow none of them but conveniencies or ornaments.

THE blacks were allow'd to fix their habitations in the country, according to their own minds, endeavouring however to unite in the center of different possessions, to form villages

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villages there, which the inhabitants of every country are apt to do of themselves, especially when mov'd by the conveniency of rivers and high-roads : But they were forbidden ever to procure a settlement, either by purchasing houses there, the elegancy of which did not agree with their former education ; or by becoming artificers or tradesmen, the Phœnicians being sufficiently provided with them of their own nation ; or, finally, by giving themselves voluntarily into the service of the whites, which would be submitting to a meanness they themselves ought to avoid. The whites were allow'd to buy for their use slaves of the colony of Sophir, or even of the inhabitants of Congo, who likewise carry'd on this trade ; but the blacks were not allow'd to have any slaves at all. His aim in this was, to make them always stick close to the work of their own hands, or, by early marriages, to get children and grand-children for their servants. But besides this help, they were not forbidden taking voluntary servants of their own nation.

FOR the king's service, it was otherwise than for that of private persons. Besides the raising of soldiers, to which a prince has always right, in time of need, the blacks were permitted to lift themselves either for land or sea. But as the country-people were
exercis'd

exercis'd once every week, even in time of peace, so he made the soldiers of the garrison, white or black, work in the city, when they were not upon guard. They were not allow'd to be masters of work-houses, nor undertakers of manufactures, for fear they should set their minds too much on their abode ; but they with great readiness supply'd the places of journeymen and assistants : And besides, he put the viceroy upon employing them with moderation in the publick works, paying them not only as soldiers, but as workmen. By that, he kept up in them an inclination to business, and consequently a probity, the only source of true courage.

HE suffer'd the whites to buy country-houses for their pleasure, to plant walks there of barren trees, and to have parterres of flowers ; but always pursuing his design of keeping up a difference of professions and species of trade, he expressly forbid them possessing one inch of land that bore corn or fruit, which they were oblig'd to take of the blacks. The Egyptian priests themselves, tho' living in the country, were subject to this law : They could have but one spot of ground for their habitation, and their revenues there were not to be in land ; but they were allow'd a house or convent in the city, such as they thought fit to build,

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on condition however, never to appear there but in the habits of merchants, as they were us'd to do in all the Phœnician colonies ; to shew they had no right of inspection over them : all authority in point of religion being vested in the Phœnician priests.

ON the other hand, to procure the whites, who were all traders, a vend for their commodities, and especially their stuffs, in the country it self, he exhorted the blacks in his laws to wear cloaths in the country ; insinuating, that it contributed to the better preservation of their bodies, especially their wives and daughters, more than exposing themselves naked to the heat of the sun ; but they were absolutely forbidden ever coming into the city to sell their goods, without being as compleatly cloath'd as the citizens themselves. As these countrymen and countrywomen were soon in very good circumstances, they as soon made an exchange of necessary garments for ornaments, and made a very diverting figure at festivals, or in the city or country fairs. The citizens were enjoin'd however to have a great regard for them, and to treat them everywhere as their countrymen, upon the same foundation.

THE revenues of the king or viceroy, which were here the same, consisted in all the

the quarries and all the mines of the country. He enjoyn'd them, not to go in search of gold-mines, but to be satisfy'd with the gold of Sophir, agreeable to his general principle, to let every place enjoy its peculiar advantage ; but he himself contributed to the finding out of silver-mines. He had at first establish'd an office of exchange to receive the shells of foreign savages who should come to trade in New Phœnicia, and to give them the rated value for them in gold or silver. But before the expiration of the two years he dwelt in the country, all the coasts of Africa, desirous of partaking in the trade of the Phœnicians, had accustomed themselves to coin of metal, common to all the nations of the world who seek any intercourse one with the other.

NOR satisfy'd with this first fund for the king, he establish'd a tax of the tenth upon all the income of lands ; a sort of impost, which being levy'd with equity, and supplying the place of all other, never increases but to the satisfaction of the persons taxed ; according to the argument of the Sicilian advocate against Verres ; because it is a sure sign they are grown richer. But besides, it lets a wise prince into a knowledge of the real strength of his dominions. And moreover, to conclude, he judg'd that moderate taxes encourage the labour of the husband-

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man, who, without this spur, would soon fall into idleness, and consequently into poverty. He would prescribe nothing with regard to the duty upon merchandize, an article already settled in all the Phœnician colonies : He only caution'd the viceroy in private, not to burden a trade which was but just begun ; nor, for an inconsiderable present gain, to hinder a future and approaching plenty.

To conclude, Cheres thought it his duty to provide for the Egyptian priests : He remonstrated, that among all people who have any notion of religion, the priests, being exempt from all contributions, rais'd of themselves duties previous to all other, and differently rated according to the circumstances of places, but which at least went to the tenths. He call'd to witness the Phœnician priests, those of Taprobane, and even those of Ethiopia, who having been taken by the canibals, in company with the Ethiopian merchants, and freed at the same time with them, had follow'd them in the fleet : He concluded from thence, that the Egyptian priests having perform'd the functions of religion with regard to the savages, and having generously gone thro' the first labours in their instructions, it was just to assign for them and their companions, whom they would immediately send for from Memphis, the tenths of the
remainde

remainder, after the royal tenths were levy'd. He insist'd upon the reasonableness of this allowance, which was but nine hundredths of the revenues of lands, in comparison of the thirds of all estates which they enjoy'd in Egypt; and he alledg'd the use, which their known magnificence would prompt them to make of that little which was allotted them, in temples and other edifices, with which they would embellish New Phœnicia.

HE instituted schools in the city, in which the sciences were not to be carry'd to such a height as in Egypt; and only those were to be taught, which could be necessary for merchants and mariners: The care of them was committed to the Phœnician priests; but in the country he establish'd none. Pursuant to the standing maxim of the Egyptians, who always continu'd from father to son in the same profession, he believ'd that the same occupations of the mind, which keep children of distinction from idleness, would be a means of making the children of husbandmen, and even artificers, slothful. All study, according to him, was an enemy to the labour of the hands, and led the minds of those who by birth were destin'd to the mechanic arts, into a wrong way of thinking. To rectify however what was too general in this exclusion, he suffer'd the priests to in-

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struct

fruct in their college those in whom they should distinguish a signal talent for any thing superior to husbandry.

THUS Cheres, after having been a conqueror and benefactor of the savages of Congo, became their law-giver. When he was ready to depart, he made the viceroy take a solemn oath, that these laws, written at length, together with their motives, and publish'd throughout the whole extent of the viceroyalty, should be observ'd ; or, if necessity or time should ever require their being alter'd, the intent of their institution should be ever preserv'd. He particularly recommended to him, in the tables he caus'd to be made of these laws, the inhabitants which came from Congo ; and he enjoin'd that in all doubtful and equivocal concerns which they might have with the Phœnicians, or their associates, the favour should always be on their side, in consideration of the inferiority of their light and knowledge. It is very probable that the viceroys who succeeded Aserymus, taking advantage, as it generally happens, of the great distance they were from the kings their master, soon violated this oath of their predecessors, and having made a tyrannick use of their authority, were the occasion of their being expell'd a few years afterwards by the savages since the memory of so noble an establish-

ment is only preserv'd in my anecdotes, and and as there are elsewhere to be found only confus'd traces of the great number of colonies which the Phœnicians had on the coasts of every sea.

CHERES was ready to set sail, in order to pursue his voyage, when he receiv'd a packet from Astartus : He sent him an original letter from the king, in which he signify'd his admiration, and his acknowledgments, with regard to this extraordinary person, the fruits of whose settlements were already return'd into Phœnicia, and the benefits of which had brought their fame along with them. The king added, that he did not direct his thanks to Cheres, to follow the same channel this illustrious unknown person had chosen, in addressing himself only to Astartus, and not to remove the veil under which he seem'd desirous to be conceal'd ; but that he with pleasure ratify'd all the dispositions, laws and nominations he had made, and which he might continue to make in the course of his discoveries : He confirm'd in particular Aserymus in the viceroyalty of New Phœnicia, and, by the advice, and at the instance of Astartus, conferr'd upon him the intendency of the western commerce. Cheres answer'd Astartus, That not having the honour of being personally known to the king, he did not

believe it proper to importune him with a letter sign'd by a name so mean as his : He added, That there was no undertaking but what must be easy with officers and soldiers so prudent, so resolute, and so experienc'd, as those who compos'd the Phœnician fleet. He finish'd, by saying, He believ'd this letter would be the last he should write to Astartus before he return'd to Egypt, and that so the king of Phœnicia would of course be acquainted with the conclusion of their voyage sooner than he.

It may be proper here to observe, that the fame of Cheres beginning to spread thro' all Phœnicia, and of course in the neighbouring countries ; Azares, formerly the slave of Sethos, thought it now time to give out privately, that this prince was incognito in Arabia ; entirely perswaded he had seen him dead, he did not fear seeing him alive again : but he was afraid that Cheres, whose fame had reach'd his ear, taking advantage of the glory he had gain'd in this expedition, might one day pretend to be this prince, and he was resolv'd to be before-hand with him. He had given himself the name of Sethos to the king of Meriaba, the very first day he was presented to him, and had entreated him to keep it a secret, under the pretext of waiting a favourable opportunity of returning to Memphis, and to restore to the
Arabians

Arabians the provinces which the Egyptians had taken from them by conquest : but his real design in this delay was, that his countenance might be alter'd, and losing the flower of its youth in a few years after the age of sixteen, he might be unknown to all those who had not seen him in that space. This was likewise the very aim of Cheres in prolonging his absence, and they both study'd to surprize the court of Memphis, the first by an imposture, and the second by the truth : but Cheres will have no account of this impostor 'till he arrive on the coasts of the Mediterranean.

CHERES departed at last with his fleet from the haven of New Tyre : He was not now to coast along places absolutely unknown to him, nor be always uncertain, as before, what objects might offer to his view. He took his course designedly for the kingdom of Guiney, and so was to view the coasts of Congo in his way ; and moreover, he had no small knowledge of Guiney it self. Besides what he had learn'd of the inhabitants of Congo, there had more than once been merchants from this kingdom at New Tyre, and he had inform'd himself by them of the government and customs of their country. He had learn'd of them, that they had a settled trade with the Phœnician colonies which were already founded on the

most western coasts of the Atlantick sea; by this he knew that he should insensibly draw near again to known countries. To get a better light into these circumstances, he had prevail'd upon some of the merchants of Guiney, tho' otherwise pretty savage, to imbark with him in the fleet. The mouth of the river Gabon, which they pass'd by, put them upon performing very extraordinary purifications. The reasons they alledg'd for it were, that they pass'd directly under the middle of the sun's course. Cheres thought this observation of importance enough to make it upon the shore itself; and all the pilots mark'd with capital letters in their journals the date and the aspect of the places they had in view when they pass'd the equator.

ADVANCING a little farther, Cheres was convinc'd himself of what these merchants had before told him, that Africa, instead of running directly north, even to its most northern point, had, at five or six degrees above the equator, a long coast directly opposite to the south; and here was Guiney, and its chief city Acara, which will be the last barbarous names I shall have occasion to borrow from my private memoirs during the continuance of my hero's voyage. Cheres coasting continually as near as possible

sible along shore, the Guiney merchants advis'd him to sail in a more direct line towards Acara, undertaking to pilot him thither with all safety, and in a very short time. He answer'd them, His design was to observe the aspect of the whole coast; That he would land in those places which were most remarkable, and, above all, take a particular observation of the bottom of that gulph where the turning of Africa took its beginning. The merchants reply'd, He would find very little worthy his observation on this part of the coasts; That the people were extremely savage; and that if they had any cities, they were at a great distance within land. Cheres perceiv'd, by the eagerness with which these merchants urg'd their reasons, they were uneasy that his fleet was going to be acquainted with a country where they had a considerable trade, which they were apprehensive they might be depriv'd of: He told them on that score, That they might have observ'd, by his conduct at New Tyre, and by the laws he had given that colony, how careful he was that every nation should keep its own trade; That he, for his part, had no design of advancing inwards into their lands, nor to interrupt his expedition of coasting round Africa, which he had brought so near to an end, by attempting excursions which were impracticable for a single man: In short,

short, That the Phœnicians were maritime traders, who establish'd themselves in different ports, with no other design but to take in exchange for goods they landed there, what the natives of the country brought them from the inward parts of their most distant provinces.

THE negro merchants being, by this discourse, freed from their apprehensions, saw, without any uneasiness, the Phœnicians land at the mouths of the rivers of Angria, Barba, and of the Camerones : They serv'd them even as pilots in these roads, many of which were dangerous, and as interpreters with the people they met on shore, who after their first fright, occasion'd by the number and habits of these strangers, receiv'd them courteously, and brought them all manner of refreshments on board, for which Cheres always paid them above the value. They told him, that all that canton belong'd to the kingdom of Benin. They at last found the river call'd 'The King's River, the mouth of which is exactly at the angle of the turning. Some irregular shores end in a bay which there makes a point of about three leagues in depth : It is terminated by an island which on the east-side is only separated from the continent by the mouth of the river Benin. On this river, but about sixty leagues farther up,

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is the great city of Benin, capital of the kingdom.

CHERES was surpriz'd to see, in all the maritime towns of Guiney, the quantity and nature of the commodities which the negroes of this kingdom drew from the Phœnicians, who were already settled on the most eastern coasts of Africa, in order to transport them into the kingdom of Benin ; for these merchandizes were no-way different from those which are carry'd to the most polite and splendid nations ; they consisted in all sorts of stuffs of gold and silk, of Indian damasks, of Italian lustrings, of velvets embroider'd with gold and silver, of garments of callico, of plate even engraven, of white and red coral, and of a sort of blue coral call'd Acoris ; in a word, in whatever could be of use for conveniency or ornament *. These particulars seem worthy of remark in savages of the inland countries, whom we might suppose to be more unpolish'd and negligent than those who had the advantage of conversing with other people on the sea-shore. In exchange, the negroes † only receiv'd slaves, furs, ivory, or teeth of the hippopotami, which they often pass'd for ivory, and other goods

* See Dapper's lists, p. 300, 306, 310.

† The peculiar inhabitants of Nigritia and Guiney.

much

much the same as those they fetch'd from Congo. But the natives of Guiney knew little of the use the inhabitants of Benin made of the commodities they carry'd them. The latter never suffer'd the former to come into their inland towns ; as the negroes of Guiney had not 'till then suffer'd the Phœnicians to pass the cape of the Three Points, situate between the Hesperian Horn (the cape of Palms) where they had a great colony, and Acara the chief sea-town of Africa. It was this triple cape, from the figure of which it had taken the name of the Three Points, that both sides had fix'd upon for a middle place, where they met twice a year to barter their commodities. The Phœnicians chiefly coveted the gold, which the negroes fetch'd in abundance from the gold-coast, and from the mineshores. Cheres's design was, to inspire the inhabitants of Guiney with a greater openness and confidence in trade, and to engage them to admit of a greater liberty and intercourse with other nations. As they already understood commerce, they had only this step to take, to cease from being savages ; for this defect consists in the being ignorant of the existence, or in avoiding the society of other people ; as simple barbarity consists in a defect of all learning. The savages have no correspondence in the present world ; and the barbarians, otherwise capable

pable of treating and holding society with strangers, remain depriv'd of that communication with the men of all ages, which civiliz'd nations have the advantage of by reading. But Cheres would propose nothing on this head, till he came to the capital, which always gives laws, or serves as a model to the rest of a state. He deferr'd this his design the more willingly, as he was inform'd the king of Guiney, tho' yet young, apply'd himself to forming the minds and manners of his subjects. He arriv'd at last at Acara with his whole fleet, in some measure guided by the chief of the negroes he had embark'd with him.

IF Cheres already knew the fame of this city, and its king; his character, which was yet more glorious, procur'd him a reception attended with the greatest marks of respect and admiration. All the citizens came to meet him on the shore, dancing and singing, and accompanied with instruments, which had nothing musical in them, but a noise reduc'd to time. The king let him know, he expected him with impatience to assist him in the reformation he had begun. These people were already out of that unfortunate situation, under which many barbarous kings to this day keep their subjects, whom they look upon as victims devoted to their extravagant cruelties. This king had
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even abolish'd the custom of offering human victims, which before his time had been establish'd on this coast *. The priests of their idol Fetisi, whom, for this reason, they call'd Fetiseros †, had been moved to consent to it by the prudence the King had had of making it turn more to their account to offer victims of animals. However, as if men were made to procure to themselves those evils, which do not happen to them otherwise, these people, and especially the women, had made themselves liable to cruel laws; the observation of which was render'd indispensable by a point of honour they had annex'd thereto: At the funeral of a husband, for example, all his wives were oblig'd to submit to the flames of his funeral pile, into which several of his slaves, and especially those he had most affection for, were likewise thrown ||. With regard to the latter, the king had already remedied this abuse; by proclaiming, that after the relations of the deceas'd had led the slaves appointed to do him this honour, to the pile, they should be deliver'd to the Fetiseros, as slaves consecrated to the ser-

* Dapper, p. 277.

† Idem, p. 313.

|| Dapper, p. 307. only says, that they strangle their wives and slaves at Curamo, which belongs to Guiney. And p. 262. that they bury them with the deceas'd: But the custom of burning themselves is common to wives in many places. See Bernier on the Mogul.

vice of their idols. This decree was very prudently devis'd, because it engag'd the interest of the Fetiseros to support it: but it was not so with regard to their wives. As life and death were in their choice, and there was no other penalty annex'd to a refusal of this sacrifice, but an irreparable shame, they would not have thought themselves screen'd from that by any refuge the king himself could have prescrib'd them. The king having propos'd this difficulty to Cheres, he immediately answer'd him, that he admir'd his sagacity in having perceiv'd, that kings are hardly the masters of a false point of honour, which may unfortunately have gain'd the ascendant over the minds of their subjects; that therefore the business would be, to lead this point of honour into another channel, or to give its former object an appearance of shame. After having reflected for some time on proper means to effect it, they concluded, that the king should publish an ordinance, by which the punishment of women convicted of adultery, which before was being sold for slaves * by their husbands, should be exchang'd into imprisonment, upon the sentence of a judge; that they should there remain confin'd together till the death of their husbands, unless they themselves should restore them

* Dapper, p. 299.

to their favour in their life-time. But that those, who, at the death of the husband, were yet in Prison, should be led to the funeral pile, and thrown in first. It was thought this would have been an effectual cure for so fatal a prepossession; by changing in this manner the sacrifices of faithful wives into a punishment for adultery. However, some more zealous than others, could even overlook this consideration, by arguing, that the difference between a spontaneous sacrifice and a punishment inflicted, was signal enough to make standers-by distinguish between innocence and guilt. Cheres therefore advised the king to publish a second declaration, in which, the former remaining in full force, he added, that those wives who should throw themselves into the flames, should by this action be deem'd making a tacit confession of private adulteries, of which their consciences accus'd them; and that their effigies should be plac'd in the criminal register, next to the marks or figures * of those who might have been publicly doom'd. None thought fit to stand the test of this scandal, and so the custom was entirely abolish'd.

* See in father Laffiteau the explication of these marks or figures, which serve instead of names and subscriptions among the savages. *Manners of the savages*, tom. 2.

UPON this very occasion Cheres observ'd to the king, who was before sensible of it, that polygamy was the occasion of great dissensions in families; and particularly, that it caus'd in the people a state of disorder, and such a confusion as was not only a hinderance to a good education in children, but even repugnant to the nature of man, who having a soul, is capable of choice and constancy; whereas this multiplicity places him beneath a great number of animals who match in pairs. The king offer'd to prohibit it immediately. Cheres represented to him, that this prohibition, as prudent as it might seem to be, would at first cause a great consternation in those women, who being expell'd their husband's houses, would be at a loss what to do: that therefore he thought it would be best to prepare the instruments, before they came to the incision: that, in his opinion, he should previously ordain, that every man having attain'd the age of twenty years should marry. This ordinance at first perplex'd several young men, who were at a loss to get wives. But they were reliev'd by another proclamation which follow'd soon after, in which every one was forbidden keeping more than one wife: And among these people, who made no great difficulty of marrying girls, who they knew had already forfeited their

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honour; they yet rather chose to take up with such who had liv'd in a good appearance with a husband.

BUT we must not here forget another source of spontaneous torments; which did not affect the lives of the patients, but which were of fatal consequence to the manners and ease of society: It was not without the greatest surprize Cheres here found an image of the Egyptian initiation; but so mangled and so hideous, as to be a scandal to its original. The Fetiseros had persuaded this whole nation, that there was in Guiney an innumerable multitude of spirits, whom they call'd Jannanes, and who inhabited certain groves, to which no prophane person was suffered to approach: That these spirits requir'd a great number of votaries of both sexes to be initiated to their worship; in default of which they would make an excursion over all their fields, and there cause an universal desolation. These threatenings were back'd by fires, which were frequently seen thro' the trees of one of these groves, which was the nearest to Acara; but more by spectres, who under the forms of ægipanes and satyrs, came sometimes near the city, and were heard playing upon flutes, as Pliny relates it of the inward part of Africa, towards these cantons *; and at

* L. 6. c. 30.

other

other times made those torrents of flames, which Hanno, speaking of the same places, mentions running thro' their fields. These prodigies caus'd such terrors in the inhabitants, that there was hardly any one who desired to be exempt from the initiation, however severe the preliminaries to it were to the candidates, and however hard an absence of two or three years, which was requir'd of them, was to their families. They were led into this grove, where they furrow'd their bodies with sharp stones, or with scourges of cords, which made the blood flow from every part, and left scars never to be effac'd. They were next oblig'd to undergo horrid fasts, of which some of the first were for three whole days, in which they were not allow'd the least food or drink. The rest of the time was spent in superstitions, in drunkenness, and in perfect sloth. The priest's wives made the females undergo pretty near the same: But whereas the young men were oblig'd to suffer all their trials with a steady and even countenance, the maidens were allow'd to make wry faces and contorsions, provided they did not cry out: the least default in the conditions prescrib'd, would have been, for either one or the other, expulsion with ignominy. The reward of their patience was, that, at their return from thence, they were respected in all companies, by reason of the asso-

ciation it was believ'd they were enter'd into with the spirits. They look'd with disdain upon those who at a certain age were yet profane, and even frequently threatned them with their secret power. They presum'd in the presence of the judges, who were named by the king for every crime, to discern the innocent from the guilty, by trials of fire and potions, independant of legal proofs drawn from the witnesses and circumstances of facts. They visited the sick, and imputed their diseases to spells thrown upon them by their enemies, or those who envy'd them, whom they describ'd according to the evidence of their fancies, which they vented for certain truths: In a word, the most common fruits of these sanguinary initiations were enmity, revenge and murder. To conclude, the Fetiseros perform'd them but once every twenty years, because it was done in common, except the separation of the two sexes, which was commendable in these savages, considering the debauchery with which this practice itself was otherwise accompanied *.

* The ground of all this unhappily agrees but too well with what father Laffiteau relates of the actual initiations of the savages of America, tom. 1. and Dapper of the mysteries of Belli-parao in Guiney, p. 268. or of the consecration of the Moquifies, p. 333. and before p. 326 & 327.

THE year was now begun, at the conclusion of which this stupid abomination was to take place. The king, who was turn'd of twenty-five years, would no longer defer entering himself into the mysteries of the Jannanes, a knowledge of which he thought essential to his authority and his designs. But as he put no great trust in the Fetiseros, he disputed strenuously with them for the place, the time, and other circumstances of his preparation; and whatever regard they had for him, by reason of the fear which the knowledge of his wisdom and resolution kept them under, they were not yet come to an agreement on all these heads. Cheres judg'd this a favourable opportunity of proposing to the king to substitute a faint image of the Egyptian initiation, in the room of these mysteries, equally grievous and wicked. The Egyptian initiation was not altogether unknown in Guiney. Not only the Phœnician commerce had brought the fame of it thither; but they knew by the traditions of their neighbours, that the Egyptian Hercules, one of the first initiates, had been as far as the streights of the two seas. The king very much approv'd this proposal, and having communicated it to some of the most faithful and knowing of his servants; they all gave him hopes that his subjects

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would receive with joy an institution borrow'd from the most celebrated nation of the world, brought into their country by the Egyptians themselves, and which besides would free them from the length, the pains, and, above all, the dire consequences of the initiation of the Jannanes. The king agreed therefore with Cheres, and with the priests his companions, that they would without delay offer the inhabitants of Guiney an initiation something in the nature of that in Egypt: But, if possible, to remove by the prudent and softest means all obstacles the Fetiseros might lay in the way, it was resolv'd, that the king should assemble in private the chief amongst them, and should himself previously inform them of the resolution he had taken.

THIS conference having been notify'd to them the very moment they were to assemble; the king, being well prepar'd, told them: That they could not be ignorant themselves, to what pitch the greater part of their initiates abus'd the influence they had over the minds of the people: That they seem'd to return from their consecration only to transact all manner of publick and private crimes with impunity: That, however, pursuant to a truth drawn from the mere lights of nature, and which sometimes they themselves confess'd, the gods are in
their

their essence just and good. That thus, not to carry the argument farther, he look'd upon the Jannanes as wicked spirits, whose name was made use of only to do evil; and should regard those of his subjects, who for the future should have any intercourse with them, as very great criminals. That he had been inform'd, this crime among civiliz'd nations was call'd magick; and that, in the character of a king presiding over the ease and happiness of his people, he was resolv'd to root them out of his dominions: But that as he knew that distempers of the mind were not to be cur'd but by repeated instructions, and in course of time, he design'd to take advantage of the Egyptian priests passing thro' Acara, to introduce, in the room of the pernicious mysteries of the Jannanes, at least some image or shadow of an initiation, so inlighten'd in its principles, so ty'd down to a practice of all the virtues, and so conducive to the publick good, as that of Egypt. That indeed the Fetiseros could have no part in it, because one of its principal conditions was not to have any scar upon the body receiv'd in the name, and for the worship of evil spirits. But that their children, not yet initiated to the Jannanes, should be admitted preferable to all others. That pains would be taken to give them such lights that they might preside themselves hereafter at this important

ceremony; because the Egyptian priests, not desiring to exclude from the sacerdotal functions those natives of the country who might be in a condition to perform them, only pretended to employ their ministry to establish all the rules of this initiation, and to form disciples capable of keeping it up after them. The king added, without interruption; that the new initiation being to have a great influence over religion, of which it was going to be the school or seminary, it was impossible for the Fetiseros to be the chiefs, and exercise the functions of it. But that, if resting satisfy'd that their children, when instructed, should succeed them, their fathers, to whom he was now speaking, would, in a becoming manner, forward his intentions, he would not only leave them their estates and habitation, but would refer to their judgment the greater part of all private causes, would entrust them with the administration of sundry affairs regarding the œconomy of the state, and would frequently call one or other of them to his councils. The king told them farther, at leaving them, that he gave them all the time they might desire for their answer, and that he even dispens'd with their giving him any other than a conformity of their behaviour to his designs. The Fetiseros having perceiv'd by the manner with which the king spoke, and by his aspect,

aspect, that he expected to be obey'd, kept silence for a long time, the safest method for them. They even suspended all public exercise of their religion, and left the king, Cheres, and the Egyptian priests, undisturb'd for about six months, which time they employ'd after the manner we are going briefly to relate.

THESE priests were but six in number when they arriv'd at Acara; but having already had time to foresee they should want assistance in the execution of their design; they easily obtain'd of the king the liberty of sending for fifteen or sixteen of their companions, who, according to their custom, were mix'd with the Phœnician colony establish'd at the cape of Palms, which belongs to Guiney. So they were more than twenty when they began their labours. They had all agreed with Cheres, who to them was Sethos, that the initiation they had to offer to the inhabitants of Guiney must be less mysterious, even less heroick, and more general than that of Egypt; forasmuch as the latter being instituted in a nation, which had without that all the assistances necessary for common virtue, its value consisted in not being attainable but by extraordinary persons; whereas an initiation offer'd to a people as yet savage, and who were in want of all manner

manner of instruction, would not be of service, but by admitting at least all the youth, which were not devoted to the evil genius's. That so the preparation, the exercises, and even the duties, ought to be practicable to each sex, to every condition, and, in some measure, to every capacity.

THEY began by causing to be erected in a spacious place in the middle of the city, for the conveniency of the citizens, two long galleries or chapels, supported by pillars of ivory, which they used in Guiney for beams, * cover'd according to the manner of the country, and encompass'd with pales on every side. They were plac'd from one end to the other of a vast space of ground, which travers'd the whole city. The people were inform'd, that they were only erected to furnish a place for previous instructions, which they would not defer; but that these chapels should subsist no longer than till the temple, and a sacerdotal college, which the king would cause to be erected in the middle space, should be finish'd, That the Egyptian priests would consecrate this temple to the goddesses of virtue, to whom they invited all the youth of both sexes, who had attain'd the age of fifteen years, to come and be previously initiated,

* M. Huet hist. of commerce, Salem. c. 7. p. 18.

THE bare name of the goddess charm'd every one who heard it. Both men and women, who had the unhappy scars of the Jannanes on their bodies, were griev'd to distraction that they could not partake of this new initiation. To appease their complaints, which were agreeably surprizing, the Egyptian priests went into every house to assure the fathers and mothers, that by offering their children, as they did, with a good will to the goddess of virtue, and by renouncing for themselves the evil spirits, they would have part in all her favours. They added, that during the whole course of the initiation, which would last six weeks, they, as well as their children under fifteen years, should be admitted to all the instructions, and to all the ceremonies, excepting those of every eighth day.

THE day appointed for opening them being come, they rang'd in each of the two chapels the children of the Fetiferos in a kind of sanctuary, on each side of an altar, where they had plac'd an image of wood, rough hewn, and which was only design'd to give them an idea of the goddess of virtue. Nearest to the rails which inclos'd the sanctuary, were plac'd in several rows on the right the male, and on the left the female candidates; behind whom a bar of
iron

iron separated them from the bottom of the chapel, which was left for those who were barely assistants.

THE king, who immediately resolv'd to be initiated, to give an example which he now only follow'd, had the first place on the side of the sanctuary, on the nearest bench to the boards of the inclosure, and rais'd above all the others, which went a little flanting. The exercises were to last but two hours; and to avoid all confusion, they were repeated four times every day in each of the two chapels. The king's hour was always the first of the day. The queen, his spouse, who was younger than he, took the first in the evening; and to divide the honour they were desirous of shewing the initiates, she did not go to the same chapel the king went to. She was plac'd in the same manner as the king in his. In a row on the side of her she plac'd the ladies and maidens of her court, who were yet capable of the initiation; as the king on his side did by the officers who were under the same circumstances. The queen was likewise attended by all the daughters of the Fetiseros, who had accepted the new initiation, and whom she lodg'd in her apartments of the palace, as the king did their brothers in his. It was likewise thought proper not to return either

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of them to their parents, till the new worship should be perfectly establish'd, and till the sons, who were to be the priests of it, should be rather in a condition to recover their fathers out of their superstitions, than to suffer themselves to be drawn aside again by them.

THE first exercise of the first day was a discourse; in which the eldest of the priests destin'd to each assembly, told his auditory, that the goddess of virtue, to whom they were to be initiated, was no other than the Egyptian Isis, under whose name they were to understand the sovereign and eternal wisdom, the first essence of nature. That she expected to be imitated by all men in proportion to their conditions; and that she was no way to be resembled but by the virtues. But that, according to the order of all discipline which tends to the reformation of manners, the extirpation of every vice must necessarily precede the attainment of that virtue which was its opposite. That in this view the exercises of the forty-five days would all begin by a discourse of three quarters of an hour by one of their body, against some peculiar vice. That this discourse should be follow'd by the sacrifice of a he-goat offer'd to the goddess as a symbol of this vice; and that during the sacrifice they would implore her to deliver and protect

test every one present from it : That then another of their body would make a second discourse, in which he would explain the state and advantages of the contrary virtue : That after this discourse, they would offer to the goddess a dove, as the image of innocence of manners, begging her to inspire this virtue in the minds of all the auditory, and particularly of the initiates ; after which, they would let the dove fly away toward heaven, by an opening which was at the lower end, and near the roof of the chapel.

THIS plan was faithfully executed ; and tho' it contain'd nothing but what is very plain, the bare instructions produc'd a wonderful effect upon the minds of these people. As the sixteen discourses of the day were held in the two chapels upon the same subjects, by sixteen different priests, and as each of the auditors heard but two of them, they were seen to assemble in small companies in the streets, to enquire of one another what they had heard, and to make comparisons. The fathers of families, who for the most part could be but bare assistants, confess'd one to the other, that nothing alienated their minds more from the ancient superstitions, than the care which was taken to inculcate in these candidates a subordination to superiors, an obedience to parents, and a
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condescendence with respect to the whole world : That they at first fear'd their children would draw a pretext, from their initiation, to treat them with disrespect ; but that they were now entirely deliver'd from those apprehensions : That whereas the initiates of the Jannanes were haughty, insolent, always threatening, and very often doing evil ; they could expect nothing from these, but modesty, sweetness of temper, and good offices.

WITH respect to every eighth day, in which no prophane persons were suffer'd to enter the chapels ; the chief motive for this exception was, to preserve some appearance of the secret of the Egyptian initiation, and to allow some emulation to the initiates ; for otherwise, the secret did not tend here to any exterior curiosity, and was only directed to the moral benefit of the candidates. They were taught, that the sacrifices of animals were not in themselves satisfactory to their deity ; that she in particular abhorr'd those voluntary incisions of men on their own bodies, which they believ'd so acceptable to the evil spirits ; that it was the vices they were to root out, and the passions of their hearts they were to keep in subjection ; that moderate fasting, which they had prescrib'd to all during the time of their preparation,

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was a sign of this reformation, a means to come at it, and a satisfaction for former disorders. They next discours'd to them of the virtues rais'd to their highest pitch of perfection : The greatest of crimes, for example, said they, is, not to acknowledge, or not to adore, any deity ; or else, to address our devotion to unclean and evil spirits, such as the Jannanes : The virtue opposite to this vice is religion, such as you make profession of with respect to the goddess of virtue, by your diligent attendance at her ceremonies and instructions : but the perfection of this virtue, is the initiation of the heart and mind, a regularity of manners, supported by an intire persuation of the rewards, or of the punishments, of that life to come, the idea of which is as deeply imprinted in every mind, as that of a deity perfectly just and mighty. A second crime, is an irregular self-love ; from thence proceeds your unconcern at the misfortunes of others, the injustice of your pretensions and vengeance for offences sometimes never design'd you. The virtue opposite to this crime is, a love of your neighbours and your equals ; by that you will become compassionate to the indigent : you will rather give up your own right, than deprive your fellow-citizen of any thing which is his ; you will pacify your quarrels by advances of friendship, rather than heighten

heighten them by your prepossessions : but the perfection of this virtue, is a general love for mankind, comprehending even your enemies.

WE know that one of the reasons alledg'd by the Fetiferos, for making their initiates endure so much pain, was, to accustom them to bear the torments to which you are expos'd from your enemies, if by misfortune you are taken in war : But forbear from this day to treat them in that manner, and you will soon see them milder. Among whom would you have this inhuman custom begin to cease ; among savages, who hitherto have no light either of reason or religion, or among your selves, whom the goddess of virtue is so happily come to enlighten ? Encounter your enemies in the wars to which your prince shall lead or send you ; but treat the prisoners, who may fall into your hands, with humanity and meekness : And moreover, accustom your selves, by pardoning your private enemies and countrymen, to pardon your foreign enemies. To conclude, beloved candidates, If we give you these maxims in private, it is not that you shall absolutely keep them to your selves, and deprive your fellow-citizens of them : virtue has nothing hidden ; her chief aim is, to be known every-where ; but it is, that you may not offer them too

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bluntly to men who are yet weak or unapt to learn. This high degree of perfection must be taught them with prudence ; and you can't better shew them the paths that lead to it, than by walking in them yourselves.

THE zeal of the Egyptian priests was not limited to the service of the chapels ; they employ'd the remainder of the day in a continu'd and peculiar education of the sons of the Fetiferos, destin'd to be one day the priests of the goddess of virtue : They reduc'd their particular duties to a good example and doctrine : They made them comprehend to what point they were to carry this good example, to make that obligation their own which was already enjoin'd to the initiates : they however commended the good examples they already gave : but they did not conceal from them, that they had by far not attain'd to the doctrine requir'd for the accomplishing those functions, which however it would be their duty to experience in a very few years ; that they would find themselves oblig'd to advance, as well in virtue as study, with giants steps : They told them from the first day, that they must begin by learning the arts of reading and writing, which they would teach them, and to make them, as much as possible advance in two things at the same time

that they would give them the rudiments of these arts in books of religion and morality, compos'd according to the maxims of Egypt, and in the Phœnician tongue: That this language, of which the Phœnician commerce had already given them some notion, but which was not common with them, must be that of their books for the instruction of priests, and even of the rites of their future temple, to preserve a greater dignity in them; but that the explication of these rites, as well as instructions of all kinds, ought always to be given to the people in the vulgar tongue. To encourage these new disciples the more to the labours they had to go through, their institutors declar'd, that they would exercise the functions of priests and superiors in Guiney no longer than five years, and to the following initiation, which they settled at that distance of time, by a rule which was always to subsist: That then it should be their turn to preside at the initiation, to diffuse the fruits of it in time throughout the whole kingdom; and finally, to form themselves their own successors.

THEY did not confine themselves to the education of the sons of the Fetiseros alone: The Phœnician priests, who were pretty numerous in the fleet, animated by the zeal of the Egyptians, offer'd likewise,

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100 *The Life of* SETHOS.

during these five years, and 'till the sons of the Fetiseros were capable of supplying their places, to keep schools, into which they would take not only candidates, but all the children of distinction who might be too young to partake of the initiation : but, as it was in the vulgar tongue of Guiney they chiefly propos'd to teach reading and writing, they adapted the characters of the Phœnicians to all the pronunciations of this tongue ; as the Phœnicians had already supply'd the Greek, and the languages of other nations, which their resort had in some measure civiliz'd. However, with a view to a double advantage, the instructions which the Egyptian priests gave on common days in the chapels, and copy'd in the vulgar tongue, as they had been spoke, were the books for reading, and copies for writing, which the Phœnician priests made use of to teach these children both these arts : It was of infinite service to them afterwards in their trade, and all their other occurrences ; for that which is good for one reasonable object, is generally good for many more.

ALL these exercises had continu'd during forty days with a wonderful zeal ; when one night heavy noises and interrupted houlings, which seem'd to come from afar, were heard on that side towards the grove. The inhabitants of all that district

took refuge, as they were wont to do on the like occasions, in the city ; for they knew, by melancholy experience, that when the Jannanes were once dispers'd thro' the country, they spar'd none of those who fell into their hands. The priests, when they went at the usual hour into the chapels, found but half the number of the assistants, and even of the candidates. It is true, the king and his officers did not absent themselves ; but all the seats for the queen's household, beginning from her own, were empty in the afternoon. The priests, instead of discoursing on the subject of the day, us'd their utmost endeavours to recover the rest of their auditory from that terror which appear'd in the faces even of those who were come thither for no other end than to try to overcome it. They told them, that the evil genius's were of necessity subject to the goddess of virtue ; and that their attempts, tho' they should be real, ought to have no other effect upon them, than to double the confidence of her servants in her. They had agreed the same morning with Cheres, not to explain themselves farther ; and he himself had obtain'd from the king, with whom he had conferr'd in private, a power at large to take such measures against this unforeseen obstacle as he should judge most expedient, and most ready.

THESE spirits, who had compass'd a great part of their design by their voices alone, did not doubt, but by appearing the following night in the plain, which was between the grove and the city, in their most terrifying equipage, they should entirely finish their work, and irrecoverably destroy the new initiation. Cheres, on his side, was not idle ; but, imagining their design, had given the officers of his fleet direction where to post a certain number of their troops privately, and at the beginning of the night, in hollow parts of the fields that they might not be discover'd : He order'd these officers to have their men lightly arm'd, in case of need ; but inform'd them his intention was, if possible, that they should kill no one ; but suffering the phantoms to advance as much as could be into the plain, and cutting off their retreat to the grove, they should drive them towards the city, without the gates of which he would be ready to receive them.

AT the beginning of the following night the Jannanes were heard to bellow and houl in their grove much louder than the first time, and uttering cries shriller and deeper than was in the power of any human organ. After this prelude, which lasted about an hour, were seen at a distance, coming out
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of the grove, spectres of a gigantick stature, in whom nothing of form was to be discern'd but sparkling eyes, and flaming jaws, or monsters of different shapes whose whole bodies were luminous : At a greater distance were seen torrents of fire traversing the fields which were planted or sown, and ravaging them with a frightful noise. The Phœnician officers communicating to their troops that presence of mind with which Cheres had inspir'd them, beset this infernal masquerade behind, and on the sides, and drove them upon Cheres, who with a troop of chosen men met them in the front. Then both parties only made use of their swords to disarm the Jannanes of their poniards, with which they attempted to defend themselves, or to take away their lighted torches which they endeavoured to thrust into the faces of those who were about to unveil them so unmercifully. They bound them, to the number of about two hundred : And as Cheres imagin'd they would lie down on the ground, and chuse rather to be massacred in that condition, than submit to the shame they were going to expose them to, they ty'd them behind a certain number of horses they had with them : so that all the soldiers had to do, was to make these new-fangled prisoners stand upright, against their wills.

IT was about break of day when this monstrous tatter'd crew enter'd the city. They were led to the space between the two chapels, to do homage, as Cheres said, to the goddess of virtue. The exercises of this day were chang'd to a sight of this remarkable triumph. All the inhabitants of Acara, a great many of the neighbouring villages, the king himself, and soon afterwards the queen, repair'd to this great square, to be witnesses of the shame of the Jannanes, who however as yet had not shewn their faces. They left them for some time bury'd under their disguises, which the tatter'd condition they were in, the disadvantage of being seen so near at hand, and the light of the day, render'd as ridiculous, as they had appear'd terrible in the order they were rang'd, by the distance of the objects, and under the shadow of the night. At their feet were thrown down poles, on the ends whereof were monstrous heads of paste-board, thro' the holes of which were seen extinguish'd lamps. On the ground lay bodies of the same substance, and set off in the same manner, which being carry'd by two men, resembled four-footed beasts. They were, in a word, inventions not unlike those which are in use on our theatres for supernatural representations. However, the greater part of them were barely cover'd
with

with black sacks from the top of their heads to below their knees ; and it was these, who, joining the flames of their torches, imitated torrents of fire. At their girdles they had either whistles, which were exceeding shrill, or bladders of a sort of wild horse, call'd Janaca, which serv'd to swell their sounds.*

THE hour being at last come to discover the faces of these captives, Cheres gave the Egyptian priests a wink, to lead the sons and daughters of the Fetiseros into the palace, that they might not be present at the bloody sacrifice, with which the king had already threaten'd these victims, who were easily discover'd to be but men. A moment afterwards the veils which cover'd them were all torn off at one and the same time : And all that were present, excepting Cheres, who expected nothing else, were astonish'd to see the well-known faces of the Fetiseros. The king, more incens'd against them than he would have been against any other persons, by reason of their direct disobedience to his last commands, immediately pronounc'd their sentence of death. He only deferr'd the execution of it 'till the conclusion of the initiation ; that, during this space of time,

* Dapper relates the same fact of the diviners, or Impostors of Guiney, p. 255, and 256.

people might, in general, recollect the number of ravages and murders they had been guilty of, to proportion in some measure the weight of their punishment to that of their crimes. This, however, was not the intention of Cheres, whose thoughts were bent upon moderating the sentence ; But he was resolv'd to let them suffer all the dreadful apprehensions they had but too much deserv'd. They were in the mean time convey'd to the royal prisons, to the satisfaction of all the people.

THE children of the Fetiferos, hearing this news in the palace, were seiz'd with the greater consternation, as their parents never let them into the secret of their impostures 'till they were initiated to the Jannanes. Cheres, who accompany'd the king into his palace, took advantage of the moving sight of these young persons, who were drown'd in tears, to excite his compassion. He observ'd to him, that young men who were destin'd to the priesthood of the goddess of virtue, ought to have no blemish upon their reputation. That there was room to hope from their zeal for the service of the publick, and from the purity of their religion, that they would make amends for the trespasses and superstitions of the Fetiferos ; but that nothing would ever efface in the eyes of the vulgar the disgrace of their fathers having suffer'd

suffer'd publick shame. The punishment of parents, added he, is with common people a greater dishonour to the most innocent families, than the most heinous crimes, when left unpunish'd, are to the guilty themselves. The king immediately answer'd, that having no other view in sacrificing the Fetiseros, than in vengeance to the goddess of virtue, he would desist from it, if it was disagreeable to him. Therefore he referr'd entirely to him the care of finding an expedient which might effectually prevent these wretches from ever disturbing the worship of the goddess, or the ease of his subjects. All the children of the Fetiseros, the daughters not excluded, prostrated themselves before the king, to acknowledge his clemency, for which they perceiv'd the obligation was due to Cheres. At going out, Cheres told the king in private, that with regard to superstitions, of which there were yet great remains in the kingdom, and which could not all be destroy'd by convictions of fact, as that of the Jannanes; he thought it would always be better to punish them by contempt and derision, than by chastisement, which often does but give a greater weight to them.

THERE yet remain'd three days of the exercises of the initiation. The children of the Fetiseros were dispens'd with the two first

first days, not to expose them to the eyes of the publick, 'till the doom of their fathers, who were yet inform'd of nothing, was determin'd. Cheres himself absented for these two days, which he imploy'd in visiting the grove, in company with two of the Egyptian priests, and some of the chief officers of Guiney. Behind three or four rows of trees, which border'd this grove towards the plain, they discover'd a piece of ground, extended as far as the eye could reach, border'd at that distance by huts design'd to lodge the candidates which the Fetiseros expected at the conclusion of the year; and on the right they perceiv'd a walk lin'd with very thick and high hedges that led to their college, which, as well as their temple, was situated without the city.

HOWEVER, it was not here they found the most remarkable thing of the grove. They soon observ'd that there arose in different parts of the open space, from time to time, and at certain distances, something like streams of smoak. Cheres and the Egyptian priests immediately concluded, that there was a mine of sulphur in that place, and they told the officers who accompany'd them, that these streams of smoak appear'd in the obscurity of the night as streams of flames. They explain'd to them this effect of the
terrestrial

terrestrial exhalations, which find a freer vent in some places than in others. They told them, that in Italy, from whence merchandize was brought to them, there was a district, to which a like Phænomenon, that was there perpetual, had given the name of Vulcan's Market, or the Phlegrean Fields*. That it was very probable the first Fetiseros had taken advantage of this quality of the earth in these hot climates, to magnify the idea of it in the minds of the people, and to make them believe, that these exhalations were living beings, who dispersed themselves at will throughout the whole plain. To leave, however, some marks of devastation in a place which had so long been a refuge for such impious wretches; he gave orders, with the king's consent, to cut down the trees which separated this place from the plain, and particularly the walk which led from the grove to the college of the Fetiseros.

THE eve of the last day of the initiation publick notice was given, that all the citizens might repair the ensuing forenoon to the place which separated the two chapels. In the place where the altar of the future temple was to be erected was set a large

* Forum Vulcani, Campi Phlegræi, now Solfatara in the kingdom of Naples. See the description and print of it in the Theatre of Italy of Mr. Bleau. Vol. 3.

square stone, and in the middle of it a statue of marble, which Cheres had got privately carv'd by Phœnician workmen. It was an image of no great height, but exceedingly well proportion'd, in Egyptian habit, having one hand on the head of a sheep, holding in the other a shepherd's crook, and with eyes lift up to heaven. Every one being plac'd much in the same order as in the chapels, the Egyptian priests led the children of the Fetiseros thither, and then declar'd to the whole assembly; That the king, who was in person present, had vouchsafed to grant the criminals their lives, in consideration of the exemplary regularity of their sons, of the great progress they had already made in the sciences they taught them, and of the zeal, of which they already gave great marks, for the service of the goddess and the publick good. Thus the shame of the fathers turn'd to the honour of their children. The king having confirm'd this declaration by his assent, five or six of the ancientest Fetiseros, strictly guarded, were brought into the midst of the assembly to represent the rest. Every one was surpriz'd with astonishment to see two of them, who, in these three days imprisonment, from negroes, were become whiter than Europeans. It is true, there had been examples of these monsters in colour among the natives of Guiney. They even look'd
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upon their condition as a constant leprosy, and so much the more as their whiteness was almost perfectly pale. But they fancy'd they had never seen any but who had been so from their birth; and very few knew that a revolution of the humours in extream sorrow or fear was capable of producing this effect in some men, whose bodies were more susceptible than others of the impressions of the mind. From a cause something like this it is, that black hair has become grey in a night*.

THE king himself having spent some time in these reflections, his minister, who was seated at his feet, rose up and said; That the king not only granted the Fetters their lives, but had even assign'd their college, of which the temple alone should be raz'd, for their prison. That indeed his intention was, they should be confin'd there for the remainder of their days, and that during their whole lives they should have no manner of intercourse, under any pre-

* Pontis in his Memoirs relates this last fact as having happen'd to himself; and there are other examples to confirm it: But see Dapper, p. 332. quoting Vossius *de Origine Nili* on this colour, casual to negroes, which has caus'd those who have had it to be nam'd by the Portuguese Albinos. This author even adds, that this inconvenience would frequently happen to the greater number of them, if they did not keep up the beauty of their black by often anointing themselves.

text whatsoever, with any one from without. That moreover, it was his will, that the administration of their incomes, and all authority over their college, should, from that very day, be committed to those of their sons of the age of twenty-five, who were initiated to the goddess of virtue. But that they should afterwards divide this administration and authority with their brethren, who were likewise initiated as they attain'd to the same age. That the king's design, however, was, that the children of the Fetiseros, male and female, who had then their dwelling in the palace, should remain there 'till the sacerdotal college of the new temple was built, and they could there form a community, for which the Egyptian priests would give them proper regulations. But that he allow'd and commanded those of their sons who had attain'd the age prescrib'd, to make choice that very day of such amongst them as they thought the most proper to reside in the college of the Fetiseros; to provide for the maintenance of their fathers, and especially of their mothers, who they hop'd had not been accomplices of their husbands crimes. That nevertheless, with respect to their behaviour, they should be under the same dependance as they, tho' for their persons not doom'd to the same confinement. In pursuance of this the prisoners were all conducted to their ancient habitation

habitation by a sufficient guard, of which the king always kept a certain number there to see his orders obey'd ; and the same evening fix of the most prudent of their sons were deputed to take possession, in the name of all the rest, of the administration with which they were entrusted : reserving, however, the right of coming every day by turns, to be present at the instructions which the Egyptian priests gave their brethren in the palace.

THIS interruption being at an end, the Egyptian priests resum'd and finish'd the subject of the initiation. They told the whole assembly : That in order to imprint more firmly in their memories, and in their hearts, the lessons of the goddess, which they had receiv'd with so much submission ; they would continue once every week in the chapel the exercises of every day of the preparation, 'till in the future temple they might institute ceremonies more venerable, and better adapted to the different festivals of the year : That the initiates should have nothing peculiar but one day in every month, in which they alone would be admitted into the chapels. They finish'd what was directed to the whole assembly by the sacrifice of a sheep, a victim offer'd in the name of this great flock who enter'd into the fold of the goddess of wisdom, who on the

other hand offer'd herself to them as a shepherd.

To conclude, the candidates alone being assembled in the afternoon in the chapels, a very short writing, divided into two parts, was presented them. The first contain'd the obligations peculiar to their condition, and the second, the chief failings they were to avoid in the commerce of life; all conformable to the more extensive instructions they had receiv'd in the course of the preparation. They told them, that those amongst them who should become expert enough in the art of writing, in which the Phœnician priests were willing to instruct them, should copy this writing with their own hands, and carry it always about them. They immediately read the first part to them; and upon the promise they all made of observing all those things which were there prescrib'd them; they put on every one, without any distinction of sex, a white scarf, beginning by the royal family, and ending by Cheres, who would be himself a partaker of it. After this ceremony they proceeded to the second part of this writing, which contain'd the trespasses they warn'd them to avoid. Tho' the most heinous of these were not of the number of those which the king took cognizance of by his judges; they declar'd to them, that these faults,

faults, being known and prov'd, would be a forfeiture of the scarf to the guilty, on a sentence of the priests, publish'd in presence of all the initiates, and that being so excluded, they could not be restor'd 'till the next term for initiation, when they must again go thro' all the preparations and ceremonies of it as at first; and that even then they should not be admitted but according to the dispositions the priests should find in them. The reason they alledg'd for this punishment was, that besides the peculiar and personal concern every one of them in particular had to live up to the strictest rules of virtue, they were to keep up the honour of the society they were about to form; and therefore, it would be unreasonable, that transgressors, if such there should unhappily be amongst them, should live in community with virtuous persons; or retake the exterior banner of virtue, before they had given evident marks of repentance. But they took care to add, that this exclusion should not in any manner influence the publick or domestick functions of private persons, or in the least lessen the respect or obedience otherwise due to them; because true religion serv'd rather to strengthen than to destroy the order and laws of nature and civil society.

THIS was beyond dispute the most important institution Cheres made in Guiney. It was the employment of near a year for him, and he staid another year there to confirm it; to oversee the building of the temple, which not being of stone did not require so much time as an Egyptian edifice; to assist the king with the counsels he himself seem'd to desire in the other parts of government; and finally to establish the Phœnician trade in Acara. The king, who had more than once heard the wonderful actions of Cheres related; admiring, in particular, the work of the initiation, accomplish'd with so much prudence, resolution, and affability, and observing the regard the most venerable priests of his own nation had for him, even in things which concern'd their ministry, soon imagin'd that he was himself an Egyptian initiate. Therefore, discoursing one day freely with him, he confess'd that he was mov'd by a fervent desire of going in quest of those heroick qualities he perceiv'd in him, to what he imagin'd to be the source of them, the Egyptian initiation. He besought him to be assistant to him in this design, which seem'd very expedient for a king, who, like himself, after a very unpolish'd and vicious education, had presum'd to undertake the giving of manners and politeness to a nation barbarous and almost savage.

Cheres

Cheres answer'd him without hesitation; that he should never have gone out of the kingdom of Memphis, if he had thought himself of so much advantage, and so necessary to that kingdom, as the king was to that of Guiney; that he already exercis'd, with regard to his people, all the heroism he could bring from Egypt; that this heroism itself, in a king like him, consisted in renouncing, in favour of his subjects, the glory of a title of which he had had no occasion, to encourage him in an undertaking he had already so happily advanc'd; that his presence was of more consequence than ever, to enforce and extend the fruits of the new institution. Cheres spoke but too true, for it was abolish'd some few years after this king's death. However, to remove all suspicion that he talk'd to him as a person who would comfort another for the want of a prerogative he himself enjoy'd, this hero, by a generous sacrifice of the opinion, however just, which the king had of him, told him, concealing the truth, and yet not telling him a falsehood, that there was no such name as Cheres in the list of the Egyptian initiates, and that he thought himself too much honour'd to wear with him the scarf of Guiney. He next recommended to his particular care, to improve the education of the youth of his kingdom. He observ'd to him, that therein consisted the chief advantage

tage of the new initiation, in the form they had given it; forasmuch as the youth, having had the greatest share in it, were to him as a new generation, upon whom he could with much greater security depend, than upon men fill'd with former prejudices, and harden'd in antient customs; that he might find something more satisfactory in publishing ordinances, which would immediately take effect; but that this effect, however advantageous, was generally forc'd, and did not constitute, properly speaking, the manners of a nation, till children as yet unborn should find it more antient than they: That in many cases he did not disapprove of forcing men to be happy, or of promoting their prosperity in spite of their prejudices; but that, in general, it was with a good king, as with a provident father of a family, who did not think much of planting trees which he could not himself propose to see in a long time, if ever, in their greatest perfection.

WITH regard to the Phœnician commerce, which was Cheres's main object, he had no great trouble to establish that in Acara. The intercourse the inhabitants of this city had held with the Phœnicians of the fleet, had taught them, that this nation, far from being a prejudice to their trade, was very proper to improve it; not only by
their

their great correspondence, but by their knowledge and advice. Thus, before the conclusion of the second year, the whole haven of Acara was open to the Phœnicians of the cape of Palms; and the cape of the three points was no longer a barrier between these two nations. The number of the Egyptian priests was likewise increas'd on this occasion in Guiney: And Cheres, not forgetting the assistance those he had left behind him in Congo and new Phœnicia would stand in need of, to save them the trouble of procuring them from Memphis, sent them some of these. And this likewise enabled him, without doing prejudice to the service of Guiney, to take along with him at his departure, the six priests which were remaining of the ten who embark'd in the fleet at Taprobane. As he had never been out of their sight from the day they discover'd him at Galiba, and that so what change was in his countenance was insensible to them; they were witnesses of importance to him against the time he should think it proper to discover himself.

I SHAN'T here relate the sorrow he left behind him in Acara, the day he set sail to pursue his voyage. He himself had been mov'd to compassion by it, if he had not in time provided against it by the reflection, that he was but a traveller, who ought not

to fix his heart upon any thing in his passage, and who was not allow'd to enjoy in foreign countries the sweets of his own good works.

HE was inform'd at the cape of the three Points, that in order to sail to the cape of Palms, and to pursue the coast to Hercules's streights, he must from place to place take pilots who knew the soundings and rocks, and especially the entrances into the havens, which were generally attended with peculiar difficulties. They indeed made him keep the main till he arriv'd at the western point of the cape of Palms, where he discover'd upon an eminency a small grove of palm-trees * which had given occasion to the negroes to call the cape by this name. I find, however, in another of my authors, that this name came likewise from the cabins hung upon palm-trees, twenty or thirty feet above the earth, in which the negroes shelter'd themselves from the moisture of the soil, the nuisance of insects, and the assaults of rovers †. The Phœnicians, and after them the Greeks, as we have already observ'd, call'd this cape, The Hesperian horn or point [*Hesperum cornu.*]

* Dapper, p. 275.

† Father Loyer's voyage to Iffini, which is in the same canton.

HERE we may set the first bounds to the voyage, or design at least, of Cheres: for as he found in this place a large Phœnician colony, settled with consent of the king of Guiney; he had united the two extremities of the Phœnician trade, from Taprobane thither; and traced out a continued course, till then unknown, between these two extremities. It was for that reason likewise, he resolv'd to put a period to his settlements; believing his calling, and saying that his commission, had no view to countries or coasts already discover'd. He was satisfy'd with exhorting the Phœnician merchants at the cape of Palms to enter into an immediate correspondence with those of new Phœnicia. They were already of themselves inclin'd to it, and told him, that they had almost a year before receiv'd intimation, from the king of Tyre, that the intendency of the western commerce was conferr'd on Aserymus, in case Cheres with his fleet should open a passage to them.

HE departed therefore from the cape of Palms, with a design to take a cursory view, as of mere curiosity, of the cities on the coast, which begins there to turn and stretch to the north. He confin'd himself even not to land, but where Phœnician colonies were settled; to whom it was pro-
per

per to give in person an account of the communication they had found between the two seas, and to direct them in the course. But tho' he had nothing more to do, according to his present purpose, but to carry the fleet to the nearest northern part of Egypt, to send it from thence to Tyre, which is very near to it; he desir'd leave to sojourn a month in the sacred country of the Hesperides, which he had heard of in Egypt, and which was situated towards the most northern part of the western coasts of Africa.

THEY soon discover'd the Hippodromus or entrance into Ethiopia, from whence they were departing [Hippodromus *Æthiopiæ*, the coast of Malaguetta.] For Homer himself * has distinguish'd the western Ethiopia, which is this, from the eastern above Egypt. They perceiv'd at the same time, a little more northward, but pretty far within land, that chain of mountains, which from their height was call'd the chariot of the Gods. They next discover'd a high mountain, at the foot of which the beating of the waves makes a noise, which, at a distance, resembles the roaring of a lionness [Sierra Lionna,] Ptolemy seems to have plac'd the Hesperum Cornu there †.

* *Odyssey* 1.

† See Ptolemy's charts by Bertius.

Above the 16th degree they found the mouth of the river Stachir, [the river of the Mallous], and at length the city of Babiba [Guinala], in which there being a Phœnician colony, occasion'd their first landing. Having refresh'd themselves in this port for some days, they put to sea again, and pass'd by the river Darades [Gambia], towards the 13th degree *. The largest river they were to meet with on this coast was the Nujus [the Senegal], near to the 18th degree; at the mouth of which they found the promontory and city of Soloes, which being subject to the Phœnicians, they had a larger colony there than at the cape of Palms: Having there made enquiry about the islands they had left on the left-hand at the height of 15 degrees, they were told, that they were ten in number, and were call'd the Gorgades [the islands of cape Verd]. Tho' Ptolemy has omitted them, and Pliny varies very much as to their situation, 'tis very probable these are the islands mention'd by Diodorus †, in the history related pretty much at large of the defeat of the Gorgons by the Amazons of Africa, who went to encounter them in their own habitations.

* The agreement of the ancient names to the modern ones, is here taken from the graduation of Cellarius's charts, compared with the chart of Africa, by M. de l'Isle, 1722.

† Lib. 3.

ALL the coasts they had pass'd from the Hippodromus, were the coasts of the Inward Libya separated from Getula, which they were now going to coast, by the river Nigeris [the Niger] ; this is one of the largest rivers of the world, and has its swellings like the Nile, with which it has been thought to have had a communication by its springs. This river, instead of discharging it self into the sea, loses it self in the earth : but it is reasonable to think it has its passage out again, and falls into the Atlantick ocean, under the name of some other rivers, which in reality are but branches of this *.

DEPARTING from Soloes, they agreed to sail in one stretch, and without anchoring, 'till they had pass'd the great Atlas. This long chain of mountains is cross'd by the tropick of Cancer ; and the drought of the plains, as well as the ferocity of the Autololes, and some other savages met with there, had hinder'd the Phœnicians from making any settlement for trade on all this coast, and even almost as far beyond the great Atlas, but declining to the east to the promontory of Hercules, towards the south of which was seen a city call'd Tamusiga [Messa, or Temest] where the Phœnicians had made a considerable settlement.

* This seems verify'd with regard to the Senegal.

THE islands they had just left on their left-hand towards the 30th degree, before they reach'd the land of Tamusiga, were for eight or ten days the subject of several discourses between the Phœnicians of the fleet, and those of the colony : These inform'd the former that they were the Fortunate islands [the Canaries] where the poets have plac'd the souls of good men ; they are for that reason much more famous than the Gorgades, from which they are to be distinguish'd, tho' most of our geographers have not been so exact. Ptolemy himself places the Fortunate islands between the 10th and 20th degrees of northern latitude, which is the situation of the Gorgades, instead of placing them between the 20th and 30th degrees, which is their true situation.

CHERES having acquainted the Phœnicians of Tamusiga with his design of visiting the sacred country of the Hesperides ; they inform'd him, that after having pass'd the little Atlas, he must immediately repair with his whole fleet to the ~~haven of Banasa~~ on the river Subur *, the southern borders of this country : That he would likewise be oblig'd to leave his whole fleet at Banasa, under the safeguard of the colony of their

* Subu, Dapper, 139.

nation, who, happily for that settlement, were masters of the city : For, said they, the inhabitants of the country of the Hesperides, who call themselves Atlantides, never suffer two foreign vessels, under the same colours, to enter at the same time into their only port of Lixus [La Rache] ; nor more than five men of the same company to enter Lixa, situate farther up in the country, and the only place they have which goes by the name of a city. Pursuant to this, Cheres pass'd the Little Atlas, the only one which our geographers knew before Ptolemy, who was the first of the Greeks that made two of them *. It is in the 33^d degree of northern latitude, and is actually that which took its name from king Atlas.

CHERES being furnish'd with these instructions, sail'd towards Banasa † ; he enter'd into the Subur, a noble and very navigable river, as Pliny expresses it ||, and arriv'd under full sail at Banasa, tho' some leagues distant from the sea. This city, situate on the southern banks of the river, had on the other shore opposite to it the confines of the country of the Atlantides : but neither the Phœnicians, nor the other inhabitants of the same side, had any communication from

* Cellar. *Africæ*, p. 219.
 farus, according to Marmol.

† Tefensarus, or Fan-
 || L. 5. c. 1.

thence with these singular people, whose devotion to the gods had render'd them an object of sanctity, with regard to all other men. And besides, their banks had no manner of port, or other haven, but from space to space for little fishing barks; and they fish'd on both sides; but as the river is extremely broad, the barks, which were mutually regarded as foreign one to the other, ran no risk of meeting one another, contrary to the prohibition laid upon the Atlantides, and which their neighbours had laid upon themselves, with regard to them. There was only near the mouth of the river, and in the place where the city of Subur has since been built, a very large glacis cover'd with a roof supported by several rows of pillars, but open on all sides; thither the Phœnician merchants went to shew their merchandizes with which they furnish'd the Atlantides: but they had not the opportunity of giving them the excessive commendations with which some merchants endeavour to disguise and put off a bad commodity. After having laid out their goods, they were oblig'd to retire into their vessels; and by making a great smoke, to advertise the Atlantides of their arrival, and that they had open'd their bales. The buyers then came, and laid down by every piece the prices they were willing to give for them; after which, they retir'd in their turn.

turn. This estimation was made with so much equity, that it was very rare for the merchants to refuse the money, and to take their goods back again. Herodotus * relates, that the Carthaginians us'd to deal in the same manner with certain people of Africa, beyond Hercules' pillars, which probably were these very same †. But the Atlantides dealt in like manner with these strangers, with regard to their cattle and fruit, which they afterwards expos'd to sale in the same place. And as both of these commodities were so beautiful that they gave occasion to the fable of the golden apples mention'd by Strabo || ; and to that of the golden fleece, of which Diodorus ** speaks ; the merchants generally gave more money to purchase them, than they had receiv'd for the merchandizes they had brought.

THE same names which may be us'd in Greek to express fleece and apples, have given occasion to that double mythological tradition which has plac'd flocks and fruit in the Hesperian garden. The dragon which watch'd them, was nothing but the windings or serpentine course of the river

* Lib. 4. + M. Huet relates the same thing of the Seres, History of commerce, p. 369. But see la Morthe le Vayer of merchandise, tom. 9. of his collections.

|| Lib. 3.

** Lib. 4.

Lixus, or, according to others, of the sea, which render'd this port of difficult access *. There are likewise two opinions concerning the taking away of these golden apples, one of the labours of the Grecian Hercules : for some say he kill'd the dragon that was the keeper of them, and carry'd them away by force ; but others relate that he obtain'd them of king Atlas, and his queen Hesperis, in reward for having deliver'd their seven daughters, call'd Atlantes or Hesperides, out of the hands of certain pyrates who had stoll'n them. Diodorus † relates this fact two ways, which he seems to leave to the choice of his readers.

BUT I presume it will be more satisfactory to them to know historically, that a prince call'd Acmon, the son of Man, or Maneus, the ancientest name we find in the Greek or even Phœnician history, full of courage and ambition, led the Scythians, who disputed antiquity with the Egyptians ||, into Phrygia and Cappadocia. Acmon had a son nam'd Uranus, who being as valiant as his father, made the same Scythians pass the Bosphorus of Thrace, invaded Greece, and

* See on the subject of the Hesperides a compleat Dissertation of M. L'Abbé Maffieu, *Mem. de l'Academie, des Inscriptions*, vol. 3.

† Lib. 4. || Justin. 1. 2. c. 1.

subdu'd the island of Crete. Not satisfy'd with these his first exploits, he over-run several provinces of Europe, pursu'd his conquest to the uttermost parts of Spain; and, if we may believe Diodorus *, extended them to those parts of Africa afterwards call'd Mauritania, and so came to the banks of the ocean: There he put an end to his conquests; and doing as Osiris had done in the eastern parts, he gather'd the people into cities, who before his time were dispers'd in the country; made them depart from the brutal and disorderly lives they led, and taught them all the inventions and arts which were necessary to a quiet and innocent life. He began this great work in Spain, which he call'd Tartesa, as well as the capital he built there: and to him the peculiar province of Betia was owing, for the excellent morals they were so much celebrated for in after-times. He did not however neglect the provinces of Africa, where he took up his chief residence; but civiliz'd the inhabitants of them, as much as the different degrees of their savage nature would allow. Uranus apply'd himself with so much success to astronomy, that the heavens were call'd by his name. He marry'd his sister Titæa, which in his tongue signify'd the earth, and gave the

* Lib. 3.

name of Titans to the children he had by her. Saturn was one of them ; but he return'd to Italy and Greece, and is nothing to our present subject. Another was Japhet, the father of Atlas ; which latter succeeding his father, gave his name to the Atlantides we are here speaking of, to the mountains of that name, to the Atlantick ocean, and finally to that island, which has only been call'd Atlantide since its submerſion, and which in all probability was call'd, during its exiſtence, the Fortunate Island, as are now the fix little iſlands, which are but the remains of it. Atlas equall'd, if not ſurpaſs'd, his grandfather Uranus in the ſcience of aſtronomy. From him the Grecian Hercules took that representation of the univerſe call'd a ſphere ; the bringing of which to his countrymen, with the names of Helius and Selena, the ſun and the moon, which had been before given to a prince and princeſs, deſcendants of Uranus, in the ſame degree as Atlas *, he reckon'd the moſt glorious of all his exploits.

DURING the time Hercules reſided with this famous king, he found more than one opportunity of ſhewing his gratitude for the

* All this ſeems to be taken from the antiquity of the Celſans of father Pezron, p. 58. — 91. compar'd with the 3d and 4th books of Diodorus.

instruction he had receiv'd from him. He had no sooner deliver'd his daughters from the hands of the pyrates, as we have mention'd above, than he rid him of a neighbouring enemy by far more considerable. The dominions Uranus had left his successors were too large to remain long under the dependance of one single ruler. The several governors, as it generally happens, in empires of too vast an extent, seiz'd, after the death of Uranus, those distant provinces which were committed to their charge, and began to give occasion to that distinction since observ'd of the three Mauritaniae. Thus Japhet, the father of Atlas, had only kept that part of his father's dominions which was nearest to the ocean. But in the first year of the reign of Atlas, who was very young, a governor call'd Anteus, who had the command over the Streights, took upon him to build a city on the African point, which he call'd Tingi [Tangier], and which afterwards gave name to the Mauritania Tingiana *. He next made himself master of all the country to the river Zilis, and attacking likewise those parts of Atlas's kingdom which were farthest from the sea, he left him hardly any thing but the banks of the ocean from this river to the lesser Atlas, to the top of which the king some-

* Plin. l. 5. c. 1.

times went to contemplate the stars. Anteus, endeavouring to extend his invasion yet further, attempted to pass the Zilis. Hercules at the head of several barks fill'd with soldiers, easily repuls'd him*. But pursuing him on his own territories, Anteus was continually supported by fresh battalions, so that Hercules having defeated his troops three several times, found he was no farther advanc'd than at the beginning of the combat. Upon this he thought fit to re-embark: But to draw Anteus after him, he immediately sent away a great part of his barks to the other shoar, and order'd the soldiers to conceal themselves behind the coppices which border'd it. So Anteus, perceiving that Hercules landed almost alone, was so rash to follow him with a sort of fleet, such as we may imagine on a river. Hercules returning during the hurry of their descent, and calling with a loud voice his troops that were conceal'd, he slew Anteus with a blow of his club, while his troops defeated those who were landed. This made those who were yet in their barks take to flight, to make known the loss of their chief on the other shore. This relation, taken from my memoirs, has without doubt given occasion to the Greek fable, which says, that Anteus could never be conquer'd

* Pliny places this combat on the Lixus. Ib.

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as long as he touch'd the earth, that is, his own dominions, which furnish'd him with fresh troops : but that Hercules slew him by lifting him up in his arms ; that is, by drawing him out of the country he had made himself master of.

ATLAS, during the course of his reign, had improv'd in his subjects those seeds of virtue, which his grandfather Uranus had sown in them, by tying them down to his laws. He, above all, increas'd their love for religion, and drew from a contemplation of the stars urgent motives for the worship of a deity who rules them. Being at the point of death, and having none but daughters, who, being sacred to Diana, had vow'd a perpetual virginity *, he nam'd for their guardian, and at the same time heir to his crown, the person of his kingdom whom he thought the most fitting to maintain his people in the tranquillity he had procur'd them, and more particularly in that piety of which he had always given them both lessons and an example. As the country included between the Subur and the Zilis, and divided into two parts by the Lixus, was the part of his dominions most deli-

* See the scholiast of Homer printed in Barnez's Edition on the 18th book of the Iliad, on the subject of the Pleiades.

cious by the gifts of nature, and the inhabitants of which had shewn the greatest genius and inclination to be led to good ; this consideration had engag'd him to give them, preferably to his other subjects, the name of Atlantides. For this reason likewise he told the person he had nominated for his successor ; That seeing the ambition of the son of Anteus, who gave himself the title of king of Tingi, and of the Mauritania Tingitana, he did not require of him to defend all the territories which surrounded that part of his kingdom which had been the most dear to him, against this usurper : That therefore he left him these other provinces, which were either almost desert, or inhabited by people who had a great share of their pristine savage nature, only that he might have wherewithal to make the better conditions with the enemy for the preservation of the country of the Atlantides, and the residence of his daughters, already so noted in the world as to be distinguish'd by the name of the Hesperian garden. He above all recommended to him to secure, as a rampart and fortress of this little state, the innocence of its inhabitants, a religion cleans'd from every barbarous, superstitious, and even incoherent worship, and a prudent hospitality which might leave in strangers a remembrance full of gratitude and respect for the

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Atlantides,

Atlantides, without exposing them to the communication of the vices of other nations.

THUS dy'd this illustrious king, according to the relations of my private memoirs, more conformable to his known character, and more probable in themselves than those which metamorphose him into the mountain which bears his name. It was then about fifty years that his successors, always such as he had chosen himself, had reduc'd themselves, according to his last advice, to the only country of the Atlantides, and had kept up in them the same dispositions and maxims.

CHERES was so attentive to these relations which were given him at Banasa, and which he look'd upon as essential rules for his behaviour among the Atlantides, that he hardly gave ear to the first news he there receiv'd of a bloody war, which one of the successors of Anteus had just carry'd into the heart of the Carthaginian empire. He was satisfy'd with only enquiring whether Zoro its founder, and his two sons Saphon and Giscon were yet living. As they answer'd him they believ'd them all three living, and that the names of the two sons were much taken notice of in this war, of which they had 'till then a very imperfect account at Banasa, he reply'd, that with such brave chiefs

chiefs as those, he thought the republick of Carthage out of danger. So his only care was to choose two of the most prudent officers of his fleet, one a Phœnician and the other of Taprobane, and two of his most faithful slaves for them three ; who made in all the number of five, which, as he had been inform'd, was the greatest number of one company which they admitted into Lixa. He then imbark'd in one of the least, but handsomest of his vessels. And tho', when they put out to sea, they found it yet mov'd by a storm, which had lasted during the whole time they had been at Banasa, a day and a night's sailing brought them before the haven of Lixa.





THE
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S E T H O S.

B O O K VIII.



WHILE Cheres was preparing to hoist out his boat, to send and desire leave of the governor to enter the haven, he was prevented by a flat-bottom'd vessel which came to meet him, to know his name, country, and designs. Cheres advanc'd with great readiness to the prow of his vessel to hear the deputy who was upon the head of his, and who spoke to him in the Phœnician

rian tongue, according to the custom of the Atlantides with strangers. Our hero answer'd to all the questions which were put to him, with a great deal of modesty and sincerity. The deputy perceiving that Cheres had already some knowledge of their nation, ventur'd to promise him, on the part of his king, who was at that time in the port, a reception, such as a man of his merit and renown could expect from a people who profess'd a love and esteem for virtue. He immediately caus'd Cheres's vessel to be fasten'd to his, and so tow'd him into the bason, in which were a considerable number of foreign vessels, which the tempest, that had reign'd for some days before, had oblig'd to retire thither.

AS SOON as this new guest, with the two officers of his fleet, and their two slaves, were landed, the king himself advanc'd part of the way to meet him. He had a great number of men and women about him, amidst whom he was as one of them, without any guards, and only distinguish'd by the care they took not to croud upon him. This confidence was at least as great an encomium on the subjects, as on the king: For in more populous nations, where there are both good and bad people, as in ours, the justice, and other virtues of a prince, often create him private enemies, against whom

whom he has reason to secure himself. The first compliments consisted, on the side of Cheres, in an introduction of the two officers ; and on the king's part, in great testimonies of joy, and even acknowledgment, that persons who had distinguish'd themselves by so gallant actions, had thought a nation, so mean as theirs was, worthy of their curiosity. The king immediately conducted these strangers into a neat but rustick chapel, situate on the sea-shore ; it was the temple of the Hospitable Deities. After the sacrifice, they were led into an adjoining mansion, where they were to find all manner of refreshments : but the king made them promise to come and take their evening's repast in the place where he kept open table with all the inhabitants of the port.

CHERES being enter'd into this hospital, found several persons of a very good aspect, ready to wait upon strangers in the bath, at meals, and in the apartments where they were to lodge. In the same place were other accommodations and domesticks, for the slaves, sailors and rowers. The governor of the hospital, a man of a polite gravity, told Cheres and his two companions, That tho' they would not deprive them of the service of their own slaves, they exhorted them to let them repose during

during the time of their sojourn there: That they need only to ask for whatever they wanted of those attendants, men or women, whom they would meet with every moment: That they might likewise honour them with their conversation, if they thought fit, provided they were at least two Atlantes together; which he did not offer, added he, as a rule he had right to prescribe them, but to advise them, that they would not have the satisfaction to receive an answer from any man or woman whomsoever, throughout their whole country, if they should attempt to talk with them in private: That nevertheless the king and the governors of hospitals, in every place where there were any, were exempt from this law.

CHERES, who was always accompany'd by his two officers, having, during the course of the whole day, observ'd, through the windows of this house, the foreign vessels, which being refitted, began to hoist their flags in order to depart the next morning, ask'd the governor what vessels they were? And to this question he added, a civil complaint, on these ships, which seem'd to make up one and the same fleet, being suffer'd to enter, in so great a number, into the port of Lixus; tho' he had been told at Banasa, where he had been advis'd to leave his fleet, that they never admitted two vessels

fels of the same company to enter. The governor answer'd him ; That these vessels having been shatter'd and damag'd by the storm, were come to seek a refuge, which they always allow'd in this case, without any regard to their number : That it had not been so much as the design of these travellers to touch on their coasts ; but that being bound for Betia, and designing to land at Cadix, contrary winds had forc'd them into the mouth of the Lixus : He added, That those who were led thither by such accidents, were oblig'd to anchor on the other side of the haven, where the sick had an hospital very well serv'd ; but that neither one nor the other were allow'd to go out of those quarters 'till they departed : That none of the Atlantides were suffer'd to go thither, not even the officers belonging to their hospital, unless sent by express orders from the king, who never fail'd of coming from Lixa on such an occasion : These vessels which you see, to the number of eight, continu'd the governor, with great sense of compassion, have on board several miserable families of Carthaginians, driven from their country, out of fear they had been in of Anteus king of the Mauritania Tingitana ; and, if it will be acceptable to you, I will relate their history, as they have given it themselves to the governor of their hospital. Cheres and his two companions
having

having signify'd their earnest desire of hearing it, the wise governor thus pursu'd his discourse :

THE king of Mauritania Tingitana, whose dominions surround us, is grandson to the famous Anteus, who was conquer'd and kill'd by Hercules, about fifty years ago, under the reign of Atlas our illustrious founder. The second Anteus, who now reigns, an enemy to peace, and more zealous of making himself talk'd of, than of forming an empire of a reasonable extent, has long since had his views upon Carthage, as the only conquest he could undertake of great renown. With this design, about two or three years since, he enter'd into a private league against the Carthaginians with the kings of the Mauritania Massæsyliensis, [which the Latins call *Cæsariensis*], and the Mauritania Sitifensis. The conditions of this league were, That the two kings who had been subdu'd and made tributary to the Carthaginians, by Saphon, the eldest son of Zoros the founder and prince of Carthage, should not on their side make any motions that might render them suspected to the Carthaginians ; but they should from that time, and at terms stipulated for the future, furnish him with certain sums of money to raise troops : That at the proper time they should privately allow of the march of these

these troops into their dominions : And that, to conclude, he himself would undertake by this means to surprize and reduce Carthage, and to free them from the usurpation of this new republick.

THE treaty of these kings was a secret ; and the admission of the Tingitanian troops into the two other Mauritias far advanc'd, when Zoros and his senate were advis'd of it. The republick seem'd to have, in the persons of Saphon and Giscon, the two sons of Zoros, two commanders, who of all other were best able to defend it : They of themselves forestall'd the senate's requiring their services. But this wise body, judging it convenient to attack the enemy on two sides, resolv'd to separate their commissions. It was highly necessary for one of them to defend the frontiers of the Carthaginian empire with a great army on that side towards the Mauritias, and even by marching into those two which were tributary to them, to defend them, or to reduce them to their duty : but at the same time they were for sending their other commander with a formidable fleet to Siga, a maritime city of Tingitania on the Mediterranean. Anteus had made it his magazine, and was advanc'd thither, not only with all his troops, but with his whole household and family ; to be nearer
to

to the Massæfylians, who were first to open a passage for him into a country where he had no dominion. Saphon, a bold commander, and one who was already formidable on account of his former victories, was very proper for the most distant expedition. He had long been desirous of joining the Mauritania Tingitana to the Carthaginian empire: And the opposition Anteus had already made him, when the republic employ'd him to chastise and reduce the Massæfylians, allies of this king, made him look upon him as an adversary worthy his notice. Nothing, on the contrary, could be propos'd more acceptable to Giscon, than the lawful defence of his country, and its present rights, without going farther. By that he was in some measure the buckler of the empire, while his brother was the sword of it; and it seem'd expedient to keep him for the center, and innermost parts of their dominions. These reasons were laid before Zoros: But as princes, who are advanc'd in years, seek rather to bring matters to an accommodation from the very beginning of a war, he chose rather to pitch upon him of his two sons, for the expedition of Siga, whom he thought the most proper to bring about a pacification after the first hostilities. Zoros had already conceiv'd a design of making Anteus accept of some provinces in the inward parts of Africa,

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which wuld be more convenient for him than Carthage it self, if he should flatter himself with the chimerical hopes of coming only so far as this capital : He therefore alledg'd to his senate, that his eldest son being an inflexible conqueror, and as fervent in his desire of conquest, as Anteus could be, he would be more inclinable to invade the dominions of this prince, having so plausible a pretence as now offer'd, than to surrender to him some provinces of the Carthaginian empire, however barren, distant, and unprofitable they might be. His younger son, on the contrary, having never attack'd this nation, was not an object of their hatred ; and not approving of the enlarging an empire, which he thought already of too great extent, would be more dispos'd to offer the enemy proposals of peace, when it should be judg'd expedient to do it. Besides, the republick of the Capsans, which he had founded by his heroick labours, and without any appearance of self-interest, gave him a reputation, if not of greater lustre, at least of greater esteem, than that of his elder brother. In fine, the advantage he had had of returning into his own country, invested with the Egyptian initiation, had procur'd him a more than ordinary respect from all the kings of Africa. The senate, after some remonstrances, enter'd into their prince's measures ;

measures ; and, in truth, looking on both his sons as two great commanders, tho' of different characters, gave them their commissions as Zoros desir'd. Saphon, when he receiv'd his, could not forbear hinting at the preference in inclination and confidence which his father again shew'd on this occasion, as he had done before on several others, in favour of his brother.

GISCON departed accordingly with a hundred vessels of the line. Their sudden arrival surpriz'd Anteus ; he saw sixty thousand men land, who, being guided by some Carthaginians who knew the country, invested Siga, the circumference of which was not great, notwithstanding the tumultuous resistance of the besieged : However, the presence of the King, the choice of the troops for the security of his person, and the quantity of ammunition, which he had caus'd to be laid up there, as a place which was to serve him for a place of transport, and a magazine, reviv'd the courage of the garrison and inhabitants. The siege was tedious ; so Anteus, who was more subtle than his adversary, thought proposals for an accommodation would be acceptable to him ; Giscon, who had privately the same commission, tho' with orders not to declare it 'till after the surrender of the place, thought he ran no risk in giving

ear, tho' before the time prescrib'd him, to the enemy's offers. The king being desirous of having a personal knowledge of this renowned hero, propos'd an interview with him alone, under a tent open on all sides, and at an exact equal distance between one of the gates of Siga, and the head quarters of the Carthaginian army : That for the mutual satisfaction of both nations, they might each bring a hundred men with them thither, who should be placed facing one another at twenty paces behind each of them. Giscon agreed to this conference, with all the conditions propos'd, and appear'd at the hour and place appointed.

THE king, speaking first, said, That he did not believe the prince and senate of Carthage had a real intention of extending their dominions into the Mauritania Tingitana : That he plainly saw the siege of Siga was but intended as a diversion to his design of freeing the Massæsylians and Sitifensians from the Carthaginian yoke. You have had time to be inform'd (continu'd he) that since your arrival before these walls, my lieutenants, who have been receiv'd with open arms by the Massæsylians, have likewise, tho' after some delay, enter'd into an alliance with the Sitifensians. The king of these latter, whether it be that he fears you, as bordering nearer to the seat

of your empire, or whether because he is more accustom'd to your dominion, as a more ancient tributary, long refused the deliverance which I offer'd him; but at last he has accepted of it, and my troops have taken possession of all his forts. You know that your illustrious brother, as earnest as he is after conquest, lies yet before Sitifi, which he is besieging a second time. I will suppose that the good success which usually attends his arms, will make him master of it: but in short, if he finds, as I hope he will, as much resistance in all the other forts of that country, it will cost him many a campaign before he can come but to the Mauritania Massæsylensis. Having therefore to treat here with an enemy, such as you are, whose valour is alone founded on equity; my design is, to retrench all proposals, which would be but superfluous efforts. I offer you at once to withdraw, by an order from my hand, and at once, all my troops out of the Mauritania Sitifensis, with the condition only of a general amnesty for those people, whom I gain'd with great difficulty, and in whom, I confess, I met with a real propensity to the Carthaginians. As for the Massæsylians, I shall continue to stand by them. Besides the justice of dividing a matter in dispute, I likewise inform you, tho' perhaps you know it as well as I, that your empire is odious to them, and

that they will for ever cultivate their alliance with their neighbours the Tingitanians, with whom they have always had an advantageous intercourse.

GISON, in answer to this discourse, said ; My lord, I am persuaded that my father and his senate are not enemies to peace, because they begun this war only in their own defence : but I know likewise, that their design is not to leave you master of the Mauritania Massæsyliensis, which my brother conquer'd as well as the other. I don't however refuse to let them immediately know your proposal ; but 'till I have their answer, you will not think much that the siege of Siga be carry'd on with the same vigour as before. The return of the troops, which you will be oblig'd to recall for your defence here, may be of some advantage to my brother, and not diminish the length, and perhaps the number too, of the sieges he will be oblig'd to undertake. If you had demanded of us some provinces of the inward parts of Africa, by which we our selves set limits to your dominions on the south, and which consequently are of much greater importance to you than the two Mauritanias that separate us, I could have suspended the siege of Siga ; for that I should only have insisted on seeing your orders dispatch'd
for

for the absolute retreat of your troops, in consequence of the actual cession of these inward provinces, for which I would have ventur'd to answer for my father, and the senate : but as long as you insist upon keeping either of the two Mauritanias, my orders, my lord, are to persist in the siege of Siga.

You may, (answer'd the king), and I can't disapprove of every one's pursuing his undertaking ; but you are very much deceiv'd, if you think the siege suspends the execution of my designs. I inform you, that before two days are at an end, I will leave the place, with two or three more, by passages which it will be impossible for you to find out : I shall leave a governor in it, who will defend it as long as I should have done. I am willing even that you should take it in a short time ; and that entering into my plains, and taking other cities, notwithstanding the resistance of their governors, who you may imagine are by this time on their guard, you advance to my very capital. I confess, that my kingdom is not the object I am the most indear'd to. While you are ravaging Tingitana, I, at the head of innumerable troops, which wait my arrival in the two Mauritanias, will ravage the territories of your empire ; and you and I will

dispute at a distance, who will soonest take, you Tingi, or I Carthage. Giscon could not forbear being startled at so extraordinary a discourse. The king, who perceiv'd it, thus pursued his discourse ; If, on the contrary, you suspend your attack 'till you have the answer of your senate, I, on my side, will put a stop to all my proceedings ; I will continue in Siga, and, if you please, you may go in and out of it as in time of peace. You may see me as often as you think fit in my palace, and shall be an eye-witness, that I will leave all the breaches your machines have made, in the condition they now are.

GISCON, who was always inclin'd to lenity, and who look'd upon that as the surest step towards the conclusion of all business, answer'd the king ; My lord, I believe I ought to consent to the cessation of arms you demand of me ; tho' I find I shall in this exceed the limits of the instructions given me at my departure : but then it was not thought you would be the first to propose a cessation of hostilities on both sides. Tho' your offers are not sufficient, they are the beginning of a treaty which may come to perfection : but to remove from the minds of my father and the senate all appearance of intelligence between me and the enemy, or a complacency

gency in me towards him ; I think it will be absolutely necessary that I don't set a foot into your city, much less into your palace, 'till I know their minds. Tho' this last reservation of Giscon was an obstacle to the chief instrument of seduction which the king propos'd to put in practise against him ; he seem'd however satisfy'd, and, putting an end to the conference, return'd to Siga.

THE three first days of the truce were not expir'd, and it was yet a long while to the time they could expect an answer from Carthage, when they receiv'd an account that the king of the Massæsylians was just dead, without any successor of his race. As crafty men know how to take the advantage of every event, Anteus sent immediately an honourable deputation of the two greatest officers of his court to Giscon : The chief of them told him, That the king let him know by them, that the news of this king's death chang'd the face of affairs for the better ; and that upon this occasion he had form'd a plan, to which he was very much persuaded prince Zoros his father would with pleasure consent ; but that a circumstantial account of his views would be too tedious to be discuss'd to the satisfaction of both parties in the midst of a camp. They then told him, in a courteous manner, That they did not think Giscon needed

needed to fear being tax'd by any one of taking a too submissive step, if he return'd a visit to a king, who had first paid it him : That with regard to the security of his person, he would be allow'd to enter Siga with a guard of six hundred men, and that the gates of the city should continue open as long as he remain'd in it : That the king, placing a greater trust in a hero so renown'd for his virtues, and the Egyptian initiation, than he expected on his part, consented that Giscon might invest his own palace with as many of these six hundred men as he pleas'd ; and that he might place the other either about his person, or in such part of the city as he should judge convenient.

GISCON answer'd these deputies ; That he had laid himself under an obligation of accepting whatever interviews might conduce towards a peace ; since he had granted the king a cessation of arms, which he could no way justify to the senate, or at least to his father, but by attaining this end : That he would go into the city ; and that, as it was then late, he would stay the night in it, if necessary, to give the king time to open his whole mind amply, and at leisure ; but that with respect to this extraordinary guard, the offer of which might perhaps give suspicion to any one else, he would take measures directly opposite to those propos'd

propos'd him for the security of his person : That he would go into the city alone, or attended only by a single slave to serve him : That he had so little regard for his own person, to expose it, without any reluctance, if there were any danger in it, which, for his part, he did not in any manner apprehend : but that not being in right to dispose in such sort of the soldiers of the republick, he, on the contrary, would not suffer one of them to run the risque he was willing to hazard himself : That, to conclude, before he follow'd the deputies the king had done him the honour of sending him, he would resign the command of the Carthaginian army to the person the senate had appointed to be the chief of his lieutenant-generals, a man capable of carrying on the siege as well, and perhaps better than he, if there should be a necessity to renew it in his absence, whether it might be only 'till the next morning, as it was his desire, or whether any unforeseen accident might render it longer, or even eternal. This he immediately did in the presence of his chief officers, who were assembled in haste, as to a council of war. After which, publishing himself this conditional resignation, as he pass'd through the ranks of the army to the right and to the left, he put himself into the hands of the two deputies. They conducted him into the city, but without

out any ceremony, as he had agreed, and into the king's palace.

Anteus had left at Tingi a son of ten or twelve years old by the queen his wife, who dy'd a little before his departure for Siga ; but he had taken his daughter with him, a young princess of a surprizing beauty, that had been talk'd of even in Carthage. Giscon, during the leisure of a truce, (which was already a fault on his side) had been inform'd that this princess was in Siga with her father : And tho' he had 'till then given himself wholly up to the principles of virtue ; perhaps a curiosity, cover'd, with regard to himself, with the specious pretext of a more ready accommodation, contributed towards his accepting more easily the proposal made him of going into the city. The king did not however let him see his daughter at first, tho' in his palace : for having receiv'd him in his closet by a private entrance, he only told him in general, That, according to the new plan he had form'd with regard to the Mauritania Massæfyliensis which had just lost its king, he consented actually to withdraw his troops, and that it should return into the most strict alliance with the Carthaginians : That he only annex'd to it one single condition, which, in his opinion, must be most agreeable, and might become an everlasting pledge

pledge of peace and friendship between the princes of Carthage and the kings of Tingitana, such a one, in short, as he dar'd to say it was for Carthage it self to demand : But (added he) the laws of hospitality won't allow me to welcome a guest, by beginning to discourse of affairs. The approaching night invites us to a repast, which you will be pleas'd to accept of in this palace ; and in the morning I will open to you my whole design, that you may be at liberty to return to your camp as soon as you please.

THE king had hardly done speaking these last words, when a great sound of instrumental musick, mix'd with trumpets and kettle-drums, was heard. The great folding-doors of the closet open'd, and discover'd a vast gallery magnificently illuminated, fill'd with persons of both sexes in sumptuous habits, the two lines of which were terminated at a great distance by a table richly deck'd. This table was in the form of a half oval, capable of containing nine or ten persons, tho' at first there appear'd none but the king and Giscon to sit at it. The king going to the bottom opposite to the depth of the gallery, made a sign to Giscon to seat himself at the same time with him at the end of the oval, on his right-hand. As soon as they were seated,

he

he told him, That he had pitch'd upon this place for him, that there might be no hindrance between him and the diverting shews they would endeavour to entertain him with in the gallery during the repast. He invited him to partake with him of the first course which was set before them. A moment afterwards, Giscon saw the doors of another gallery as spacious as the former, and squaring to it, open over-against him. The sonorous instruments, which were playing in the first, ceas'd, to give place to others more soft, which advanc'd, accompanying the voices of men and women who sung the praises of Giscon in Punick verse. A little before they came up to the table, the choir of musicians form'd a line, to make room for the princess to advance, attended by the princes and princesses of the blood, and other persons of the most eminent distinction of the court. The princess, more bright with the charms of her own beauty, than the lustre of the gold and jewels with which she was adorn'd, came up to Giscon, who arose from his seat as soon as he saw her. Then taking from the hands of two cup-bearers, who were on the side of her, a cup of gold, and a vessel of the same metal, she put the former into his hand, and fill'd it her self with a precious wine. Giscon drank the inflam'd potion at one draught; and returning the cup to the cup-bearer, made
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a profound reverence to the princess ; who, having receiv'd it in the most graceful manner imaginable, took her place at the other end of the table, opposite to him. The princes and princesses seated themselves on each side between the king and them, and the lords and ladies were plac'd on scaffoldings behind the king. The musicians being at last all come into the first gallery, it serv'd as a theatre for all sorts of dances and songs proper for this feast ; the more fatal, as even the elogies of valour and heroick virtue tended to the destruction of both, by offering love and pleasure as a reward due to them.

THE next day, about the middle of the forenoon, Giscon demanded audience of the king. Anteus, who himself was waiting for him in his closet, and who had plainly perceiv'd the progress his daughter had made in the heart of this disarm'd enemy, said to him ; Brave Giscon ! as the princess my daughter is a part of the offers I have to make you, I was willing you should first see her, to ease you of all uncertainty on the chief article of a treaty concluded on my part, and on which, I am perswaded, distance of places alone deprives us of the prince your father's consent this moment. The Massæsylians have now no king ; my troops have put me in actual possession of
this

this kingdom : I assign it for my daughter's dowry, and I make you an offer of both : But I expect that the king her husband (being absolutely independant of the prince of Carthage) shall be on a level with the republick, and enter into no alliance with it, but what is free and voluntary. Giscon immediately perceiv'd that he could not of himself accept of this proposal, neither as a subject, nor as a son, nor even as a brother. As insnaring as a scepter, offer'd by the most beautiful hand in the world, could be, the reluctance he found in himself to consent to the dismembring of an empire, to which he had no right, made him himself believe that he was master of his own heart, and that the princess Zarita had not yet enslav'd it. He answer'd the king ; My lord, were I to consult the first influences of nature only, I should esteem the double present you offer me as the highest pitch of happiness mankind is capable of : I even believe you do me the justice to discern which of these two presents is the most precious to me ; but I have a father, and the best of fathers : To my misfortune, you are engag'd in a war with him : I can't foresee his answer, on which will depend my own consent. I will wait for both (answer'd the king) without pressing you : You may this morning return to your camp, as you have promis'd your army ; and you
may

may likewise come again into the city and palace at all times ; and trust to my word, which I give you, that you shall be the first who shall renew the discourse upon the subject we have been treating of. Giscon retir'd, and return'd to the camp of the besiegers. It was observ'd, that he affected to shew himself to his whole army ; because the morning being pretty far advanc'd, he already fear'd his long absence had rais'd some commotion amongst them, that might be the occasion of renewing the siege, which would have been a prejudice to his growing passion, and hinder him from founding the inclination of the princess, with whom he had not yet been able to converse in private.

HE had, however, but too many opportunities in the sequel ; for, taking advantage of the liberty the king had allow'd him, of returning to his palace as often as he would, he sought continual pretexts for it ; by which he began to lose the respect he had in the army, where the truth began to be suspected. And it was even in this palace that the messenger, who brought him the first answer from Carthage, was oblig'd to seek him. The fatal passion in which he then perceiv'd he was plung'd, and which the princess herself encourag'd, in obedience to her father, made him tremble at the sight

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of these letters, concerning the suspension of the siege, which he had look'd upon as justifiable, and which was the only article they could as yet answer him to : He retir'd into a garden, follow'd at some distance by the messenger. Having open'd his packet, he found at the beginning a grave reprimand from the senate, for having infrig'd the orders they had given him, by offering the enemy proposals for an accommodation before he had taken Siga. They added, That the suspension of the siege, was a crime against the state ; forasmuch as in a double attack, one party acts in an intire dependance upon the other : That, in effect, Anteus, being eas'd at Siga, and having reinforc'd the garrisons of the Mauritania Sitifensis, had broken all Saphon's measures, and chang'd the bold and valorous steps his brother had taken, into involuntary failings : That for all these reasons, the senate, by a commission carry'd by the same messenger, had devolv'd the command of the army to his first lieutenant-general, with orders to renew the siege the moment he receiv'd these new orders, or after a single warning given to the centinels of the garrison at the foot of the walls ; and to pursue it with greater vigour than they had done before the truce. Giscon then call'd the messenger, and demanded to see the superscription of the letter directed to his lieutenant

lieutenant. The messenger answer'd, That he had deliver'd it to him, as soon as he was inform'd that the general himself was in Siga : My lord, (continu'd he) must I find you here ? Well might your brother say, you were fitter to civilize barbarians, than to conquer them ; and that you are a better moralist than a commander : May the gods grant there be nothing worse in it here ! My good friend, (answer'd Giskon) I willingly resign my office to the person the senate has thought fit to nominate : I don't think I have render'd my self unworthy of it, by the causes for which I am depriv'd of it. Thou find'st me, I allow it, in a situation more suspected ; but it will perhaps be more advantageous to the republick than a signal victory : I shall immediately give an account of it to my father, in answer to his letter, which I have not yet open'd. My lord, (reply'd the messenger) I will stay 'till you have read it, to see whether you have any answer to give by word of mouth ; for I can't stay for it in writing, unless, in order to do it, you retire immediately out of Siga. Your lieutenant, who is now my general, has given me but one hour to bring you back ; at the expiration of which, he will begin to work his batteries. Giskon open'd the letter immediately ; he found it full of tenderness ; the words, *my dearest son*, were repeated in

every phrase. His father said, That he should never call in question his uprightness, and the wisdom of his intentions: That he had already found by experience, his undertakings, which had been the worst represented, had in the end been found more advantageous and glorious than those of his censurers and rivals: That he thought himself oblig'd to let the senate act in the nomination of a new commander; but that, on his side, he should do whatever he might judge most expedient to obtain a peace; and assur'd him before-hand of his consent, and even of his approbation. After having read this, Giscon turn'd about to the messenger, with his eyes bath'd in tears, and told him; My dear friend, tell my father, that tho' thou hast left me with his enemy, I am constantly resolv'd to sacrifice my life for his service. I will find some other means of sending him an answer more at large, since thou wilt not stay for it: but don't fail of acquainting the new general, and all the Carthaginians, who will be surpriz'd at the relation thou art going to give them of me, that I may be blind, but I am no traitor.

The messenger was hardly got without the gate of the city, running, when the assault was renew'd on all sides. The king dissatisfy'd, and almost asham'd to be bur-

den'd with a person who was of no service to him, and could no longer skreen him from a siege which was a great obstacle to his designs, was considering how to get rid of him, when Giscon came up to him to give him an account of his letters. After the reading of them, the king chang'd his intention ; he imagin'd that Giscon would be an excellent subject for him to create a dissention between Zoros and his senate ; and that the phantom of royalty, which he propos'd to invest him with, at the same time it incens'd the senate, might perhaps be a pleasure to his father, who hitherto had not dar'd to make any partition in favour of the most beloved of his sons : In a word, he look'd upon these approaching troubles as a means which would, without interruption, prepare his way to Carthage ; with regard to which, he was still of the same mind, and whither he was resolv'd to push on, notwithstanding all foreign obstacles, and all the treaties he might in appearance have shewn an inclination to tie himself down to. He therefore said to Giscon ; You see your senate treats you as a criminal of state, and under that name, declares a more grievous war against you, than against my self. On the other hand, your prince and father leaves you absolute master of your own actions. Let us conclude your marriage on this general concession, and prevent the

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impediments his answer to this particular proposal might lay in your way. My lord, (reply'd Giscon) this impediment is not to be apprehended so soon. I confess I have not hitherto dar'd to open my mind to my father on this head; and the rather, as I did not presume the performance of your promise was so near at hand. So much the better, (said the king); and we have yet the more time before us to work a consent, which perhaps it may be the easier to obtain when the business is concluded. We will celebrate your nuptials this day, as well as it can be done in a city which is besieged; but conceal from my daughter the letter from your senate, not to give her, in your person, the idea of an outlaw. You comprehend, that so strict an alliance, carries with it the condition of a sincere adhesion to my interest. My lord, (answer'd Giscon, flattering himself with the remainder of vertuous principles, which this deplorable fall had yet left in his mind) I am sensible of what worth the gift you make me is, beyond what I am able to express. I know what I am indebted to the father of the most accomplish'd princess man can possess; but I will employ all the understanding my love can leave me, to unite this obligation with those nature has laid me under, with regard to my father and my country; or rather, to bring this general union to some essential pitch,

pitch, of which you may be inform'd immediately. I have consider'd, my lord, since the first offer you was pleas'd to make me of the Massæsylian crown, that it was not lawful for me to accept of it in my name, or as regarding my person : but I can't hinder you, when you have made your self master of it by force of arms, from placing it on the head of the princess your daughter. I go yet farther ; The quality of her husband, with which I am to be honour'd, will give me neither the right nor the will to defend this crown with my arms against my country, which had the dominion over it before you, and sent me hither for no other end than to secure the possession of it. The Mauritania Massæsyliensis must first be deliver'd up to you by a treaty. I offer to use my endeavours towards it, as an accommodation which the present junctures seem to have made necessary for the republick : But when that treaty is once concluded, and you then, as you have given me to understand, put an end to the war you have enter'd into against Carthage, I will be the protector of your daughter's crown, against all pretensions which may be renew'd on this kingdom ; and all your enemies, without exception, shall be mine. Anteus was equally satisfy'd with these offers, and these reservations ; because having to do with a single person,

and thinking himself capable of maintaining his daughter's throne without assistance, he was indifferent whether such a son-in-law was faithful to him or not.

HERE the governor paus'd a while, but before the surprize and compassion of his auditors had let them open their mouths, he resum'd his discourse, and said : My worthy guests, I have been prolix in letting you see the degrees by which one of the most virtuous men of his age is fallen into the deepest abyss of blindness and corruption of heart : without these circumstances his history would have been improbable. I shall now proceed faster, without omitting any thing of importance, in the recital of the bloody consequences of this desertion ; tho' they have taken up a greater space of time, and may perhaps give the world a view of the overthrow of one of the greatest empires which have hitherto subsisted. The day after these fatal nuptials, the king told Giscon, That as a proof of the verity of what he had declar'd to him at their first interview, he was going to confide the defence of Siga to the particular governor of this city. That he was upon his departure from it almost alone, by an outlet he would not discover to him, because his design was, that he should remain there with his daughter, 'till he himself had prepar'd every

every thing for his reception and coronation with a proper pomp, at Jol, the capital of the Massæsylians. [It was afterwards call'd Cæsarea by king Juba, in honour to Augustus*]. Anteus, who, tho' absent, govern'd every thing in this kingdom, especially since the death of their king, found an army there of fifty thousand men, in very good order. He led it immediately to Tubusuptus, a place round which Saphon began to draw his troops after the reduction of Sitifi, which the truce at Siga had render'd very difficult. There it was that Anteus, taking the opportunity of an incampment which was forming in haste, because they knew him near, gave battle to Saphon. This great man, after having for six hours us'd all the efforts which could be expected from his skill and valour, was kill'd by an arrow drawn at hazard, and his loss caus'd the entire defeat of the Carthaginian army. Anteus pursuing his success in the first terror of his victory and name, and increasing his troops with those he had in the forts of the Mauritania Sitifensis, he soon advanc'd to the capital of an empire, whose provinces had no defender.

GISCÓN receiv'd the news of his brother's death, of the defeat of his army, and

* See Cellarius, p. 189. Afr.

of the siege of Carthage in one and the same day. Then it was that the frightful consequences of his crime made him feel the whole weight of it. He perceiv'd that the inconsiderate and forbidden condescendance he had had for the enemy, was the efficient cause of the misfortunes of his country, and the loss of his innocence. He conceiv'd for Saphon, who was kill'd bearing arms in the glorious exercise of his duty, a respect which he had never before carry'd to such a height ; and the death of a brother, with whom he had not liv'd in the most perfect harmony, left him all the regrets of the most tender and lively friendship. But a reflection upon his father added the greatest weight to his troubles. He consider'd the uneasinesses, terrors, and mortal agonies this venerable old man perhaps actually labour'd under, as a reward for so many marks of affection and confidence which he had at all times shewn him, even while he was working the destruction of his empire by a voluntary and criminal indiscretion, and while he sinn'd against his paternal right by a dissembled love and clandestine marriage. Not being able to bear up against so many remorses, he resolv'd, notwithstanding all the charms of his young wife, to depart privately from Siga, and to fly to the relief of Carthage. He found means to let the general of the besiegers know his design.

sign. He inform'd him, that in a few days the besieg'd would make a numerous sally at midnight, and intimated to him the very time; that he propos'd to take this opportunity of getting out with them in armour like unto theirs: that he should have two slaves with him arm'd in the same manner, one the slave he had carry'd with him to Siga, and another he had got there, who seem'd as faithful and devoted to him as the former. The general thinking that Giscon, being return'd to a sense of his duty, might perhaps be of service in the defence of his country, or at least might die in a station more becoming him than that he was about to leave, very much approv'd his resolution. He promis'd him, by the same means, to favour his escape, and to furnish him, according to his desire, with a frigate to carry him directly to the port of Carthage.

GISCON departed from Siga without being discover'd, and his light vessel arriv'd at Carthage at the beginning of the siege: for the enemy's army, being come thither by land, was oblig'd, tho' unwillingly, to leave the haven open. The Carthaginians, who are now here, saw one morning a frigate enter their port, out of which came a man very much tir'd, and follow'd by two slaves no less so than he. The master, however, was in compleat armour, as if going
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to a battle, but the two slaves were cover'd with long cloaks which they wrapp'd all round them, and with which they likewise hid their faces, as a sign of confusion and sorrow. As soon as they were landed, the man in armour began to cry out: I am the guilty Gifcon, and come to offer my head to my father and the senate, unless they judge it more expedient for me to sacrifice my life on the walls, at the most violent assault. These words, which he repeated at every step, soon came to the ears of Zorros. This prince sent immediately officers to bring his son into his palace. As a great crowd follow'd him, the captain of the guards came, and declar'd at the gate, That the prince desir'd at this first interview his son might come in alone, and should appear only before the senate, which was calling together: But Gifcon answer'd, with a strength of voice, which at the same time excited astonishment and compassion, That he begg'd in the name of divine and publick justice, that his father would suffer his two slaves to go in with him; because, having been witnesses of all his proceedings in Siga, they might bear testimony against him, and prevent all access to mercy, if any was design'd in his favour. This his demand was granted; and, the two slaves being enter'd, the gates were shut upon them three. Five or six hours after, the secretary
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of the senate, being himself a senator, ascending a seat of judgment in view of the great square, at the end of the hall, where all the judges were yet sitting, and having Giscon, standing, and yet in armour, on his right hand at the bottom of the steps, pronounc'd this sentence, as extraordinary as the crime which occasion'd it.

“ The senate of Carthage, with the ad-
“ vice and consent of their prince, declare
“ Giscon a criminal of state ; on account of
“ the proposals of accommodation made,
“ in opposition to the orders of the republic-
“ lick, to the king of the Mauritania Tin-
“ gitana, before the surrender of Siga ; for
“ the suspension of the siege previously
“ granted that king, without the consent,
“ and contrary to the intention of the se-
“ nate ; and by a marriage contracted with-
“ out the knowledge of his father and
“ prince, with the daughter of Anteus, an
“ avow'd enemy to our empire, who is now
“ actually besieging its capital. These three
“ deeds, taken together, have been ad-
“ judg'd deserving of death ; by the loss
“ of the incomparable Saphon, by the de-
“ feat of our armies, and by the siege of
“ Carthage itself, of which they are the
“ cause. The senate, however, suspends
“ the execution of this sentence, in confi-
“ deration of the need the republick stands
“ in

“ in of the criminal, who is now the chief
 “ support left, from whom they hope their
 “ welfare. His judges require of him, that
 “ before he come to submit to the death he
 “ deserves, he go elsewhere in quest of those
 “ succours which are absolutely necessary
 “ to prevent the ruin of our empire ; and
 “ of which the hopes he has given us has
 “ seem’d plausible enough to engage the se-
 “ nate to leave those troops before Siga,
 “ which they were upon the point of re-
 “ calling. When he has accomplish’d this
 “ undertaking, the senate will not yet execute
 “ their sentence : because, looking upon
 “ the criminal as now the only natural
 “ successor to his father ; his death would
 “ throw the republick into the perplexity
 “ of a choice, which faction makes dange-
 “ rous during the course of the election,
 “ and which a plurality of votes don’t al-
 “ ways make satisfactory to every subject
 “ afterwards. It is therefore decreed he
 “ shan’t suffer the death he has deserv’d,
 “ ’till, by his marriage, which his father’s
 “ consent has now confirm’d, he have a son,
 “ which we can regard as a successor born
 “ of the principality of Carthage. Then
 “ only the criminal shall come and offer his
 “ head to the sword of justice ; provided
 “ however farther, that he have not before
 “ that actually succeeded upon his father’s
 “ death ; forasmuch as the senate allows
 “ they

“ they have no right of punishment with
“ regard to their prince, and it would not
“ beseem the prince himself to submit to it.”

As soon as the sentence was pronounc'd, Gifcon was carry'd down to the square, which he cross'd alone and at liberty, desiring every one not to follow him, because the senator had yet something of greater importance to impart to them. They soon lost the sight of him, and it is not yet known what is become of him.

THE senator immediately call'd back all the people, and said : That tho' they did not absolutely despair of the welfare of the republick, the senate was desirous to secure the dignity of their aged prince : That to this end they had perswaded him, tho' with great difficulty, to seek a retreat out of the limits of this empire 'till happier times. It is not judg'd proper, continued he, to name the place propos'd him, and whither he has consented to repair. But if the bounteous gods grant us the deliverance of our city ; deputies will soon repair to the place of his retreat to bring him back again to Carthage. He will imbark this very night, in which no other vessel but his will be allow'd to go out of the harbour. However, the prince not being the only one for whose ease we are solicitous ; the senate permits, and even exhorts all those citizens who are not in a condition

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condition to bear arms, or who have not been employ'd hitherto in the works of the siege, to retire with their families. You are allow'd to carry with you all your riches and provisions ; and to seek refuge in those provinces of Europe and Asia which border upon the Mediterranean, and where each of you may hope the best reception on account of his particular correspondence and trade. You may depart to-morrow and the following days in those vessels which belong to one or other of you, and take such passengers as you shall think fit, who are in the circumstances I have just describ'd. The senate, of which not one member will take the liberty they grant you, requires no other formality for your departure. But if, by the valour of those who remain, or the succours Giskon has promis'd to bring us, our city should hold out, as we have reason to hope, so long as to raise the siege, all estates shall, at your return, be restor'd to those alone who shall have left their titles and instructions in publick trust. And those who shall persevere with us in the defence of the city shall be discharg'd from all current and annual debts to those who shall retire, even for a year after our deliverance.

Tho' the Carthaginians, who have inform'd us of the things I have just related to you, have preferr'd flight, to the risque
of

of losing, with that little they had sav'd, their lives by the hands of a barbarous conqueror; as they did not depart from Carthage 'till a week after this proclamation, they saw the good effect it began to produce. For besides the satisfaction the senate thereby gave all the women, and a great number of timorous men; they freed Carthage from all useless mouths, and increas'd emulation in those who had chosen to defend it to their death. And indeed we have not yet heard that it is taken; as we are likewise inform'd that the Carthaginians have had no better success before Siga.

THIS recital struck our three auditors with astonishment, as well on account of the character and situation of the persons, as of the two very different faces the event of this war was going to give to the affairs of Africa. But Cheres, tho' in outward appearance the least mov'd of the three, had at the bottom of his soul all the impressions that those who were personally concern'd could have in a like juncture, and he had already made the lot of Carthage, and of all the subjects of that empire, his own. He was in no less lively manner affected with the wound the honour of the Egyptian initiation had receiv'd; tho' Giskon was not, as Sethos, what they call'd an Egyptian initiate. But above every other consideration

deration he was persuaded that the gods would furnish him with an opportunity of exercising that friendship, which the initiates thought a principal duty, and which in ancient times render'd those pairs of friends, of whom fable and history have preserv'd the names, so famous *. He consider'd, that if adversities, which only regard the goods and fortune a friend is depriv'd of, are a reason for devoting one's self to him with a greater zeal, and to do our utmost for his assistance; the loss of innocence and honour, when it don't proceed from an irretrievable depravation, was a much more pressing motive to fly to the assistance of a man who himself is endeavouring to repair his failings. And thus, as soon as the company was separated, and he alone, he cry'd out: O Giskon, Giskon! I formerly promis'd you my friendship; I don't despair of soon giving you proofs of it. In the mean time he went to visit his vessel, to recommend to all those who were employ'd in working her, and were not to leave the port to follow him to Lixa, to shew a great respect to the Atlantides, who might offer them their services, either in the hospital, or in the vessel itself. He intrusted the chief pilot with the care in his absence, which was not to be so

* See this article very well treated in father Luffitan's *Manners of the savages*, Vol. 1. p. 603. & seq.

long as he had at first design'd. After which he prepar'd to set out, with his two companions, to wait upon the king before the hour of publick table.

THE king, attended by one of his ministers, was just coming out of the hospital for passengers, where the Carthaginians were, which was distinguish'd from that for strangers, where they had put Cheres and his companions. They went all three to the place where the chief of the Atlantides were waiting the king's coming. He at first walk'd about with them all, in large shady walks along the shoar; and soon afterwards he invited the three strangers to sit down on each side of him upon a bench of green turf in the form of a circle. There he desir'd Cheres to oblige the great company he saw round about him, of whom as many as would might sit down over-against and by the sides of them, with a relation of the chief exploits, which fame had given them a confus'd idea of; such as the passage of the southern point of Africa, the foundation of New Phœnicia, and the reform of the initiation of Guiney. Upon this request the chief of the two officers spoke, and said to the king: My lord, as our commander's modesty, which is equal to his wisdom and valour, would make him disguise the part he has had in the performance of these glo-

rious undertakings; permit me to give you, in his place, the satisfaction you desire. This proposal being agreed to, the Phœnician gave a recital of all the reader has seen in the foregoing book, by so much the more valuable as, without uttering one single word of praise, he gave his hero great encomiums by a bare relation of facts. During this narrative, Cheres was so taken up with his new projects in favour of the Carthaginians, and the means to find Giscon, that the applauses the whole company directed to him at the conclusion of the Phœnician's discourse, made him start as out of a sleep.

THE hour for table being insensibly come, the king rose first to go towards the place where the tables were cover'd. It was an agreeable plain, which a very strait hillock, cover'd with trees, shelter'd from the rays of the setting sun. There twenty tables form'd an oblong. All the inhabitants of the port could not sit at them; but all the citizens were admitted to them by turns. The king's table was alone by the side of the hillock; but it was long enough to contain the chief officers of the state; for he had no separate table for himself, and was only waited on as the private persons by menial servants. The chief of these officers, or he who was nearest the king, was

the principal priest of the place; for the high-priest of the nation resided at Lixa. When any strangers were there, the king plac'd them next by the side of him; and each company was entertain'd but once, according to the order of their arrival. The chief table was only for men, and they sat only on one side, as at all the other. In the length the mens tables were on the right, and the womens on the left. The king's wife, for so she was call'd, and had not the title of queen, had the chief place at the latter, and her daughters the next after her. Her sons were at the mens table opposite to her, provided as well one as the other were in their minority. But in this elective kingdom other degrees of parentage were plac'd at table, as well as every where else, in the rank of citizens, out of whom the king was chosen. The priests came next, and after them the citizens who liv'd on the revenues of their estates; the same order was observ'd with the women. At a certain appointed distance, but still reckon'd lengthwise, were the tables for artificers neatly clad in the habits of their profession. And lastly, at the end of the oblong were two tables for the domesticks of both sexes, who did not wait at table; and who, tho' in other respects they were fed as their masters, did not come in 'till after a certain space of time. The attendance upon the three first rows of

tables was always directed by two men and two women of the citizens. In a word, this charming assembly, which never met but where the king was, had at one and the same time the appearance of a state, and that of one and the same family. As for the messes they were always of five sorts, a dish of each for every guest; meat, fish, milk, pulse, and fruits. They were generally varied from day to day: But as every thing was always dress'd in the plainest manner, they had never any sort of ragoos. The men had each a pretty large measure of wine; but the women had only a quarter of the quantity, which was given them towards the conclusion of the meal: because the bent of this people was to keep up sobriety and decency, without an absolute denial, which often breeds unruly and pernicious desires. Every one was allow'd to converse with those who sat nearest them, but with a low voice, to avoid the noise, which otherwise must be in so numerous a company. Cheres, who sat at the king's right hand, taking advantage of this liberty, which the king had already made use of with regard to him, told him: That he had more reason to be curious to know the laws of a people so virtuous and renowned as that of the Atlantides, than the king had had to be inform'd of his weak enterprizes, the success of which was only owing to the assistance

tance of those nations of which his fleet had been compos'd. The king in answer said, he would give him immediate satisfaction: Upon which he call'd the secretary of his council, who sat at the end of the table. He order'd a chair to be set for him almost opposite to his own; that the other two strangers, one of which sat at the king's left hand, and the other on the right of Cheres, might likewise easily hear him: and causing his messes to be set before him in this place, as was usual on the like occasion; this officer, continuing his repast, spoke in the following familiar terms.

VENERABLE guests, to begin by religion, which is always our glory and security, I shall first observe to you, that our priests offer three sacrifices every day, one at sunrise, another about the middle of the forenoon, and the third at noon. Each takes up but the space of half an hour. All the Atlantides are oblig'd to be present at one of the three; unless they have reasons for a dispensation made known to the priests, who are very indulgent in granting them, and very exact in requiring their being ask'd. We have so many temples throughout our whole dominions, that there is always one in the neighbourhood of every inhabitant of this little kingdom. Lixa being our only city is the only habitation where there are several temples;

ples; but even in Lixa every one is oblig'd to go to his own, to perform the exercises he is ty'd down to. These exercises consist every day in the morning sacrifice, and a thanksgiving in the evening; whither you will see our king lead us after the repast, and where even those will be present who have not been at the tables to day. We have a certain number of solemnities during the course of the year; especially at the beginning and conclusion of the seasons, to entreat the gods to make them propitious, or to thank them for their blessings. But besides that, every eighth day is set apart for the more particular worship of the gods, and for a day of rest and ease for the citizens, and especially artificers. On those days we are first oblig'd to assist at the temple, at our religious ceremonies, for three hours together in the morning. There is, however, but one sacrifice, something more solemn than those of other days, and is otherwise no longer but as the prayers, which on other days are only repeated, are then sung in a concert of voices and instruments. Then one of the priests delivers a discourse, of the length of a short hour, to the whole assembly both men and women; in which is a mixture of moral rules, with the praises of the gods, and persons of both sexes who had been remarkable for their virtue. But at the same time another priest instructs the children

children by familiar questions in a separate place. To conclude, we assemble again to make a distribution of the oblations which are made before the sacrifice, for processions, and other pious ceremonies, to which men, women, and children are admitted by turns. For it has always been a maxim of our fore-fathers to excite an esteem for the temples by the beauty and diversity of the ceremonies perform'd in them. They believ'd that for the support of religion it was not enough to build upon the real and inward piety of particular persons; but that it must have something exterior that might unite a whole people. Exterior worship is the only one which can form a visible society, and distinguish a religious nation from those who are not so, or are so after another manner. In former times we had a set of men, and especially of priests, amongst us who were too godly, and referring every thing to the inward man, look'd upon ceremonies even as a cause of inattention in the temples. Above all, they retrench'd what they thought too amusing, as contrary to the spirit of religion, which they thought they came the nearest up to, the fewer persons they made it fit for. Thence it came that our temples were deserted in all solemnities which were voluntary, and pretexts for being dispens'd from the other increas'd. Our high-priests, to whose care the body of
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this same religion was in some measure committed, always oppos'd this kind of reformation. As heads of society in so considerable a part, they have had an extreme attention for the multitude. The perfection of some peculiar persons is a particular case, of which the priests, who are consulted in private and separately, ought to be more than ordinary careful. But they ought not to impose it as a law upon a whole nation, in which it is nevertheless of consequence to preserve a love and habitude of religion. In a word, the maxims of our high-priests, and the success attending their conduct, have convinc'd us, that whereas shallow minds vainly attempt to bring the generality of mankind into their taste, the generous man brings them to what he will by their own.

THE second view of our weekly festival being, as I have already hinted, the repose and refreshment of the citizens, and especially of working men; they have the afternoon at their will. It is not so at the solemnity of other festivals, in which our ceremonies are too pompous, and altogether too long to be perform'd in a morning: but then the attendance at them is voluntary. At the weekly festival the intent is, that the vulgar and domesticks may not only rest from their labours, but divert themselves: but that these their sports may center within
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the bounds of decency, our laws ordain, that they be publick, and that the citizens themselves assist at them. The places where they exercise their recreations, where they dance and eat, whether it be at Lixa or in the country, are appointed them, and in the open air: and moreover, our magistrates preside at them to prevent all quarrels, indecencies, and excess. These pastimes are establish'd by a general law; for fear any masters or mistresses of families should on such days withhold their children and servants from them by labour, constraint and vexation, as some have done even under pretext of religion; and they are ordain'd to be publick, to prevent there being any held in private, or that the citizens being unemploy'd, might not give themselves up to flandering one another, or to censuring the government.

To come now to our polity: The constitution of it dispenses us from that part of it which in other places is call'd military; because we have no defence but the favour of other nations, and the esteem they are pleas'd to set upon the simplicity of our manners. We have even no occasion for politicks, as it is the art of putting an end to wars, or extending the frontiers of a country by treaty: Nobody disputes the limits of our territory, which is border'd by the sea
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to the west, by two rivers, the Subur to the south, and the Zilis to the north, and by a chain of mountains to the east. We, on the other hand, don't attempt to enlarge them. And to say the truth, our laws would be too restrictive for a great kingdom, in which we could never keep up that concord and uniformity which is the soul of our manners and customs. It is enough then to tell you, that our king is elective, since Atlas, our founder, dying without male issue, chose one himself from among our citizens. In pursuance of the example of this first election, we insist upon our king being, at the time of his election, between fifty and sixty years of age. Every citizen, as well as every inhabitant of the country, who has given proof of his having a certain fix'd revenue, may be nominated; provided, however, he be not a son of the last deceas'd, or his nearest relation if he had no son; which excludes in this case either all his nephews, or all his cousins in the same degree. All factions are absolutely forbidden; and they would even be to little purpose, considering the freedom and the secret of scrutiny made by those citizens only who are past the age for being elected, but are otherwise qualify'd for it. The king being once named is absolute master of the administration. But he is bound by an oath not to infringe upon the laws of the state, and to receive the representations

presentations of the assembly of magistrates, who are not nominated, but are confirm'd by him. He is likewise desir'd, on the day of his installation, to keep all the ministers of his predecessors, who are capable of exercising their functions. So the change of a king makes, in general, no alteration in the state. But the king has in other respects the right of deposing and nomination, with regard to all other places of note, excepting one, which is that of high-priest. He is chosen by the priests who are of the same age as the citizens who elect the king; and the age of the high-priest at his election is fix'd in the same manner as that of the king. But the king has a peculiar privilege at this election; which is, that he can strike out three of the list presented him of those priests who are qualify'd for this imploy, the nomination of whom would afterwards be null. Some zealous priests formerly murmur'd at this regulation. But they were given to understand, that the greatest happiness of the priesthood, and of the state, consider'd together, was the union and concord of the two powers, which could never be expected if the high-priest was not agreeable to the king. They added, that whatever could give occasion to divisions and parties must be carefully avoided, being as contrary to the spirit and even interest of religion, as to its publick and civil advantage, and as being
capable

capable of changing a great good into a great evil. These remonstrances had so good an effect, and the priests have since shewn so great a regard for the kings, that at the latter nominations the kings have excluded none, and have left the three names in blank, only to preserve their right.

OUR citizens are divided into three classes, those who live on the revenues of their estates, merchants, and artificers. The priests are reckon'd among the first; tho' they have no other revenues but the oblations which are brought into their temples, and the voluntary presents they receive for the publick education of their children of both sexes, of which they and their wives have the separate charge. The revenues of others consist generally in lands and houses; and there are very few families, even in the city or port, who have not, more or less, some estate in the country. The possessors are oblig'd to keep them in good order, and to improve them, not only as good house-keepers, but as good citizens: because we have hardly any other commerce with foreigners but for our cattle and fruits. Commissaries, who are presented to the king by the body of merchants, go and receive them of the proprietors, and transport them to that only market which you may have been shewn when you went up the river Subur

to Banafa. There they are barter'd for the merchandizes which are brought us by the Phœnicians in the manner they have, without doubt, inform'd you of at Banafa, without either party ever seeing or speaking to the other. Thus our merchants receiving their commodities only by the hands of these commissaries, sell them only to our citizens at a word: they are likewise allow'd to deliver them to strangers, such as you, for their proper use: but you will see their customs in that respect, if you have a mind to purchase any thing under the great piazza of Lixa. I have nothing to observe with regard to our artificers, that in all appearance is not common to all nations. But what I believe is peculiar to ours, is, that we suffer no one to be in want, and that the state supplies what vigilance and industry can't furnish to some private persons: but then the magistrates take care, and even previously, that the necessities they are to provide for, do not proceed from sloth or disorderly living, and they punish both by much harder labours than those which would generally suffice to prevent such indigence.

THIS, venerable guests, is a recital of our laws, much the same as we give to all strangers who express any desire of being inform'd of them. The remainder consists
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of particulars of which you may already have observ'd some part of yourselves, and which you will have yet a better idea of, if you stay the whole month you are allow'd to sojourn here. You will easily conceive that the chief place for making these observations is Lixa, which is but half a day's journey from hence, and whether our king has declared he will return to-morrow, after the departure of the Carthaginian vessels.

CHÉRES was charm'd with all he had heard; and adding what he had now learn'd, to what he had heard before, he thank'd the king, and the secretary of his council; adding, That whereas the savages, which 'till then he had met with throughout all Africa, were so many examples of those vices which men are subject to, without the improvement of their minds, and without the knowledge of manners; the sacred country of the Hesperides was a pattern of that innocence which is preserved by some people, that have no intercourse with men perverted by luxury and ambition: He farther added, That their nation gave him a real idea of the golden age; not such as represented by vicious men, but such as a regard for publick felicity, made all wise men wish the return of.

THE repast being ended, the king went towards the temple, attended by the whole company which had been at table with him, and which visibly increas'd by the addition of all the other citizens of the port. Cheres found an opportunity of telling his two officers, That after the thanksgiving they were going to, he would endeavour to get some light of the king concerning the Carthaginians ; but, as he believed the king might be more open-hearted if he spoke with him alone, he would give them an account of their conversation at the hospital, whither they should retire before him. Cheres went immediately up to the king again ; and at coming out of the temple, speaking softly to him, he desired leave to confer a moment with the Carthaginians who were to depart in the morning ; for that his two companions and he were very much concern'd at the history, which the governor of the hospital for strangers had been so good to relate to them. The king, pressing his hand, dismiss'd the whole company by a salutation, as was customary at that hour. After which, he answer'd Cheres, who walk'd with him by the side of his palace, That the regard they were oblig'd to have for the neighbouring states, and especially for the king of the Mauritania Tingitana, by whose dominions they were surrounded, would not allow them

to turn the privileged country of the Hesperides into a place of rendezvous, and conference among strangers, and especially between so illustrious a hero as Cheres, and the Carthaginians with whom Anteus was actually in war : That, for the same reason, they never admitted of any fugitives among them, who, on their side, knowing the caution of the Atlantides, and the small extent of their territory, chose rather to seek refuge in other places, and particularly in Betia, a nation as religious, and less dependant than they : That, however, the fame of his vertue deserving a confidence, he should not have in any one else, he would not conceal from him how much they all disapprov'd the injustice of the assault, and the perfidiousness of Anteus's proceedings against the Carthaginians : That for his part, he should be charm'd to hear that Cheres, adding the glory of their deliverance, to so many noble exploits as he had already heard related of him, might soon be call'd the conqueror and benefactor of all Africa : That, as a proof thereof, to facilitate this enterprize as far as was in his power, he would acquaint him, That about two months before, a small Carthaginian vessel enter'd their harbour in a disguised manner, and set on shore two very aged men, accompani'd by two young damsels veil'd, and clad as if in mourning. She of these

these two who appear'd of the greatest distinction, and was the handsomest, call'd the most decrepid of the two old men her father, and the other seem'd an attendant on the former : They had all four but one slave. As that is the greatest number of one and the same company that is entitled, according to our laws, to an entrance into the inward part of this country, they were receiv'd into the hospital for strangers, as you were. The governor of this hospital, the same you have this day spoken with, sent them to me to Lixa, as they desir'd ; advising me, that they had a particular favour to beg of me. They immediately confess'd to me, that the siege of Carthage had driven them from that city. They entreated me, if they werè the first of this unfortunate empire who had landed there, as they believ'd they were, to grant them, at any price that might be thought proper, an habitation in some solitary place of our plains : That I would suffer them to remain there 'till their city was deliver'd, if the gods should be so propitious to it ; or to end their days there, if it should be taken, as they had reason to fear. I answer'd them, That I should not be backward to exercise this hospitality with regard to them ; but it not being our custom to suffer strangers to settle amongst us, I would propose it to my council in the most favourable

terms, and, in the end, let them decide if their quality, as fugitive Carthaginians, were for them a reason for a single exception, or a more severe exclusion. My council, after some deliberation, concluded unanimously, That hospitality, as all the other virtues, was of little merit, if only exercis'd on common, or even agreeable occasions; and that we ought to rejoyce that providence had laid an opportunity in our way to risque something by doing good: That even by so doing, some had had the advantage of entertaining greater guests than they at first believ'd: That, nevertheless, to accompany this good work with all proper cautions, it would be good for these strangers to continue concealing from the other citizens that they were Carthaginians; and the rather, as they would thereby the better hide themselves from their enemy Anteus, whose ill-will we should be loth to draw upon us: That, for the same reason, it did not seem proper to sell them any possession; because, on the one hand, we were not us'd to deal face to face even with the Phœnicians, who bring us the commodities we stand in need of; and, on the other hand, these new guests were not sure of the time they might stay in this country: That therefore it would be best to keep them as strangers, for as long a time as their circumstances

should

should oblige them to stay here : but that, contrary to their custom with foreign strangers, who stay here at farthest but a month, they should have, for their retirement, a piece of land, which they should enjoy as tenants, and for which they should send annually a voluntary retribution, and in a conceal'd sum, to the chest of the Hospitable Gods, in such manner as strangers pay their expences, and even the price of those things they buy, in visiting this kingdom : That it was left to me to assign them, on these conditions, any place in the royal domains, that I might judge sufficient to furnish them their subsistence. They added, That the solitude, which these Carthaginians themselves sought, seem'd very expedient, as well for their own security, with regard to men of every nation who at times visit this country, as to preserve, with regard to the Atlantides, the law they are ty'd down to, never to have any private conversation with strangers : That they therefore desir'd me to regulate the number, and keep the names of those menial servants who were necessary to cultivate their ground. I assur'd my council I should exactly follow this advice, which was mine likewise. Being return'd to the Carthaginians, I told them, That in consequence of this deliberation, which I related to them, I assign'd them a very agreeable retirement on a hillock four leagues on the other

side Lixa. I immediately gave them a man I could confide in to conduct them thither, and to assist them in their establishment: He it is who performs all their commissions without doors, and by whom likewise they have an intercourse with me. These, illustrious Cheres, are the only Carthaginians with whom I can allow you to speak: I don't even extend this permission to the two officers you have brought with you. To-morrow, as soon as the heat of the day is over, I shall depart for Lixa, and I shall arrive there about midnight. I will furnish you, if you desire it, a carriage for you, your two companions, and two slaves, and you will arrive there at the same time with me. You may take your measures the next morning to go alone to the habitation of our hermits: It is call'd the High Trees; the way to it is by the river-side, 'till you find a semi-circle form'd by the shore, the space of which is fill'd up by an island which you will find surrounded by fishermen's boats. Leaving this island on the right-hand, you will discover on the left a little white house situated on a rising-ground, at a pretty considerable distance, and surrounded on three sides by high trees, which won't deprive you of the sight of it; this is the habitation of the Carthaginians. I describe the way to you, that you may not have occasion to enquire of any body:

for

for it will be most proper for you to go thither as a stranger, who is come to visit the country out of curiosity, and has lost his way. I will give you, however, according to custom, a circular letter, in which I certify that you are come into the kingdom by the port of Lixus, the only entrance allow'd to strangers ; because there are orders given at several places to stop unknown persons, who may have come in by any other ways, to know of them who were their guides, and to reconduct them immediately out of our territories.

CHERES, extremely satisfy'd with the permission, and the lights the king had given him, thank'd him with the same frankness of heart as if it had concern'd his own deliverance. And the king, being come with him to the gate of his palace, sent him back again to the hospital, attended, as a mark of distinction, by two of his people.

As it was already late, Cheres put off his two companions 'till the next morning, to propose to them a design he had form'd on account of the Carthaginians, in consequence of what they had heard together, and of what the king had told him in particular. Accordingly the next morning, as they were all three walking in a rural and
O 4 private

private place, Cheres said; Dear companions! whatever just glory you have gain'd by a discovery of the tour of Africa, by the settlements you have made on the coasts of it, and by the manners you have given to the greater part of their inhabitants; I have more than once observ'd, that in the combats which have offer'd, your valour has suffer'd, by being only engag'd with enemies unworthy of you. You have, in some measure, been asham'd of your own exploits: And I, my self, have hinder'd some enterprizes, which you, without doubt, would have terminated much sooner by force; but in which I believ'd patience and lenity would better secure the execution. An occasion now offers to you, to give a free course to that valour I have sometimes repress'd. Will you assist me in succouring the Carthaginians, who owe their rise to you, (said he, turning to the Phœnician officer) a nation dismember'd from yours not thirty years ago? or will you abandon me in this expedition, which I am resolv'd to attempt, tho' I should be oblig'd to go thither alone? The two officers did not hesitate a moment for their answer: And Cheres, to encourage them the more in the offer of their lives, which they had made him, in the name of the whole fleet, told them; That he believ'd this exploit would be a glorious conclusion of their voyage: That thereby they

would

would shew to all the known and civiliz'd nations where-ever they should come, and in the eyes of whom they were going to combat, that they were capable of something more than trade ; or rather, that commerce was not to be extended the length they had carry'd it, but by men who have as much courage as wisdom.

THESE two officers, carrying their generosity to a greater height than Cheres had desired, told him ; That they would immediately depart to fetch the fleet from Banasa, while he might satisfy a curiosity more becoming him than them among the Atlantides, and at Lixa. Cheres answer'd them ; That he would not accept on their part of a sacrifice, the example of which he did not follow ; and that it was just that friends who had taken a pleasure in accompanying him into the land of the Hesperides, should see the capital as well as he : But moreover, (continu'd he) our sudden departure, or even our sudden separation, might make the vulgar Atlantides suspect, that we, in concert with the king, had form'd some secret league with the Carthaginian fleet ; and the more, as departing now, we, or you, would go out of the harbour at the same time with them. Now the king has inform'd me, that it was necessary, for the tranquillity of his people, not in any-
wise

wife to be concern'd in the quarrels of neighbouring nations, and especially in a war carry'd on by Anteus, by whose territories the Atlantides are in a manner shut in, and with regard to whom they had great reason to be cautious : For the same reason, the king wou'd on no account consent to my speaking with the Carthaginians, who are this morning going out of the haven, and of whom I was desirous to inform my self more particularly of the situation of their affairs ; and I flatter'd my self in vain, that he would rather grant this favour to me alone, than to all three together. For this reason likewise we will never make any mention of the Atlantides, or their king, in the execution of our design. We will, however, follow him this evening to Lixa, whether he is pleas'd to appoint carriages to convey us, and our two slaves. But if, after having pass'd the whole day to-morrow at Lixa, you will return to Banasa in the vessel which has brought us, I shan't oppose it. It won't be thought strange by any body, that the two chief officers of our fleet should be impatient to see it again. So, after having provided the fleet with every thing necessary for a great enterprize ; which, however, must pass for nothing else but a voyage to the Mediterranean, which is actually cover'd with a great number of armed vessels, you may immediately bring the

the whole fleet before the port of Lixus :
You need only send in a sloop to fetch me.
As this commission, which I believe you
will readily undertake, will require at least
eight or ten days time, I shall certainly by
that time be return'd into this port. You
see that, according to this disposition, I in
part accept of the offer you have made me,
of leaving me alone in this country. It is
not, as you may believe, out of the curiosity
of a traveller, which at this time gives way
to a much greater design that we have in
view : It is, if possible, to obtain among
the Atlantides a greater knowledge than
they have hitherto given us of the affairs of
the Carthaginians, to make them repeat what
they have already told us, or call to mind
what they have forgot of them. For I need
not tell you, that in war, the main point is,
to be instructed in the state of things ; and
that attacks are by so much the more ad-
vantageous, as they are made conformable
to the well-known dispositions of the enemy.
These measures having been taken by general
consent, without Cheres having discover'd
any thing to his two companions of the Car-
thaginian hermits, who were the real cause
which delay'd his departure, they return'd
all three to the hospital. Having there
taken their repast with the governor, they
told him, That designing to depart for
Lixa with the king's retinue, they took the
liberty

liberty of asking him to whom they were to pay the expences they had made in the port, and especially those of their ship's company, and their rowers. The governor answer'd them; That they would be acquainted with the manner how this payment was to be made, at their return, and departure out of the port, if they did not learn it in the course of their little journey. Not being able to obtain any other answer, they confin'd themselves, against their wills, to thank the governor, and all those persons who had serv'd them, in the most friendly and obliging terms. They then went to wait on the king, who alone had right to receive the visits of strangers, in his palace.

THE king went into a chariot with his spouse and daughters, who always attended him in his journey to the port. The ministers who were with him fill'd two other chariots which went first. Next to the king follow'd the chariot he had provided for the strangers; and that for his sons was the last. The king was receiv'd at the gates of Lixa by a dozen persons nam'd for that office, not to disturb the remainder of the city in the night-time. Being alighted at the gate of the palace, the king caus'd the strangers to be led to the hospital of Lixa, which was in the same square, where they were receiv'd in the same manner as at the port.

They

They imploy'd the whole following day in visiting the city, which was divided by the river into two parts or semi-circles, the diameter of which was about half a league. They had two Atlantides for their guides, whom the governor of the hospital had appointed them, as usual, for the first day: These guides carry'd them first to the chief temple, where they were present at one of the three morning sacrifices. This temple, as all the buildings of Lixa, was regular, well-contriv'd, and handsomely executed, but without any ornaments of architecture. At coming out of the temple, they of themselves desir'd leave to wait on the king; which was granted them. They were afterwards conducted to every place of the first part of the city, which their guides thought would give them the greatest satisfaction. They did not forget to let them rest, at times, under porches more convenient than pompous, where other Atlantides came to them to discourse with them on all sorts of virtuous and useful subjects. As they were never there alone, the citizens were allow'd to enter into conversation with strangers: And they could not but observe the discretion the Atlantides had, not to tire them with questions, but to be contented with what they told them of their own accord. Being return'd to the hospital, to remain there during the great heat

heat of the day, they went out again three hours afterwards, to go into the other part of the city. They cross'd the river over a bridge of boats, which open'd to give passage to the barks of the Atlantides; for no other people had the use of this river thro' the whole extent of their territory. At the beginning of the evening our travellers observ'd a great many women with the men under the porches. Their guides told them, that there were, however, none but such as were of a capacity to converse with the men. This inspir'd them with a curiosity of drawing nearer to them. They observ'd that they gave ear with an attention which was an encouragement to those who argu'd justly; that they judg'd nicely; and that they spoke less, but with greater readiness than the men. So amusing a sight made Cheres say, that the knowledge of a city did not consist in being acquainted with the extent of its plan, or the number or form of its buildings; but in having study'd the inhabitants, and being able to judge what is the most valuable in their society: That, in fine, that depended very much, in every country, on the genius of the women, and on the manner in which they were treated: However, (said he to his guides) we should be loth to finish the day, without seeing in what manner strangers are us'd who offer to buy any thing here: The

manner

manner of your market of Subur, and some general discourses which we have heard, make us believe there is something particular in your customs, in this point. Their guides answer'd ; That it was in their power to inform themselves : That they saw before them the greatest market-hall in Lixa, which, on account of its construction, was call'd The Grand Piazza ; and that, to give them the pleasure of the surprize, they would let them go alone, and wait for them under that porch where they then were.

CHERES and his two companions stopp'd under this piazza at a place where were expos'd to sale a great number of those little toys, which travellers take with them, rather as a remembrance of the place from whence they came, than for any use at their return. They laid aside as many as the two slaves they had with them could conveniently carry : but before they took them from the table, they ask'd the price of them. The seller answer'd in a civil manner ; That she esteem'd herself happy, in being the first of her profession, as she plainly saw she was, to whom they had apply'd themselves : That she was therefore to inform them, that the merchandizes of the Atlantides, not only her's, which were of no great value, but the finest of stuffs and linens, which they would find among her
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neighbours, were rated at no price to strangers : That they could take whatever was proper for their use, or to their mind, if, by the quantity of it, it did not appear a stock for trade, without enquiring after the price. The strangers reply'd ; That tho' she would not receive their money, they must pay for what they bought to somebody, or by some means or other : That, in a word, they would not take away any thing, without at least knowing how she would sell what they had laid aside to a citizen of Lixa. She answer'd ; That no one would ever make any demand on them for what she deliver'd them, and it was at their discretion whether they ever gave any thing for them or not : That, however, she would not refuse to tell them that she would sell them for so much to an inhabitant of the country : That she was forbidden receiving the value of them, and yet she should be very sorry, if they left the goods upon her hands. Our strangers therefore granted her request, with which she seem'd perfectly satisfy'd. But, without making any farther trials, which would have made them never the wiser, they return'd to their guides, and begg'd them to unfold the mystery.

THE chief of the two answer'd them ;
My lords ! No stranger is allow'd to distribute any money at all here : And if you go
into

into the country, as you may with a circular letter from the king, you will find, that nothing will be ask'd of you at the inns, for your provisions, or carriages ; and much less in houses, where you will be entertain'd out of a duty of hospitality : but shop-keepers are no losers by what they deliver in this manner ; for the keeper of the publick treasury pays them, at the sight of their bills. Strangers, who are so generous as you seem to be, have but one way of retaliation : When they are upon their departure from the port of Lixus, they are first led to the temple of the Hospitable Gods ; there, after a sacrifice offer'd before them on their account, they are told, that behind an inclosure which they see at the bottom of the temple, is a chest, into which they may put what they have a mind to give, if they fear having any obligation to us for the expences they may have occasion'd. We must confess, in honour to the guests we have hitherto had, that this custom has more enrich'd our state, than all the money they might otherwise have dispers'd. The governor of the hospital for strangers, who attends them to the temple, takes care, however, to tell them, that they don't by any means advise them to put themselves to any inconveniency by an excess of generosity ; and so much the rather, as there are two reasons why they can't know what is put

into the chests ; one, because they will be left alone behind the inclosure ; and the other, because they open the chest but once in three months, and so their money will be mix'd with that of many others. With respect to passengers, who are drove into our port, or upon our coasts, by tempest or shipwreck, it is otherwise ; for the evening before their departure, the king, attended by the chief of his ministers, and the governor of their hospital, accounts with them ; not the expences we may have been at for the entertainment of their men, sick or in health, or the refitting of their vessels, but the damages they have sustain'd, and the money they may want to carry them to the place they are bound for : And it very often happens that they give them money ; or, if they take any from them, 'tis in proportion to what they have left, and not to what they have expended. This disinterestedness did but excite the liberality of Cheres and his two companions ; for being return'd to the hospital, they all three agreed that the two officers, at their departure from the port, should put into the chest ten times the sum they calculated their expences at : saying, that was the least part they could give the Atlantides, of the treasures they had brought from Sophir. And with respect to Cheres, whom they left there alone for eight or ten days, and who would not keep a sum

which would have been troublesome to him, they promis'd to send him, by the sloop which was to come to fetch him, a great deal more gold than he would want, to pay his own expences upon the same footing.

THEY had yet time to go and salute the king before the publick repast. Cheres told him, That his two companions, being satisfy'd with having seen Lixa, intended to depart the next morning, to return to their fleet at Banafa; and, for his part, if the king would allow it, he would visit some part of the country for some days, till this fleet should come to take him on board as they pass'd by the port of Lixus to enter into the Mediterranean. The king answer'd him; That these two officers must have a letter from him, directed to the governor of the hospital who had receiv'd them at the port, to authorize this separation of strangers who came together; and that Cheres must have a circular letter, to be receiv'd without opposition by the inhabitants in the country. He immediately gave them these two letters, sign'd with his own hand. The three strangers, upon that, retir'd to their hospital, to take their evening's repast, and go to rest. The two officers departed the next morning before day, to return to the port. They took the two slaves with them, at the desire of Cheres,

who told them, He had no need of servants among the Atlantides, nor of witnesses of his design. The day following they went out of the port, and sail'd for Banasa, whither they arriv'd in safety.

CHERES being left alone, soon began his journey for the retirement of the High Trees: He had kept only a very plain habit; and, taking a stick in his hand, he departed on foot, before sun-rise. The dust and heat of the climate soon gave him the air of a pilgrim. In this garb he call'd to mind the heroes of the first times, and being mov'd to tenderness by a reflexion on them, he said to himself, that he was happy to resemble them in simplicity, 'till he could attain to their great actions. He rested twice under the shadow of the trees, and quench'd his thirst with the water of the river. At last, at the end of four leagues, he perceiv'd the little white house the king had describ'd. He began to ascend the hillock by a narrow and cover'd way, and he came before noon to the gate he was in quest of. Having knock'd gently, it was open'd by a person who, by her dress, seem'd to be a servant employ'd in the business of the kitchen; but whose noble air, and exquisite beauty, plac'd her far above this habit and function. The impression which she gave Cheres, made him salute her with the same respect

respect he could have done a princess ; after which, he shew'd her the circular letter he had in his hand, in which his name was not mention'd. He added ; That being viewing the country of the Atlantides, with the king's leave, the prospect of that retirement in which she dwelt, had drawn him aside from the high-road ; and that having long wander'd about in the paths which compass'd her house, he hop'd they would harbour him in some place or other where he might shelter himself from the great heat of the day. This person, whose actions had at first only shewn the civility becoming a common host, having soon perceiv'd, thro' the outward disorder of the man she was talking with, something very extraordinary in his physiognomy, and in the tone of his voice, she answer'd him in the same manner as she would have done a prince ; My lord, (said she) my father will be overjoy'd to entertain a person like to you in his house : He is in a small apartment over this : but before I give you the trouble of going up, I will conduct you to the guest-chamber, where you may repose yourself ; so taking herself bread and wine, she led him to a chamber on the same floor, where she shew'd him cupboards without locks, as all in this country were, in which he would find all manner of necessaries he might stand in need of. Then going with him to the


end of the chamber, she shew'd him a door, by which he might go down into a bath, beyond which was a shady walk to the fields: This, my lord, (said she) is the apartment we have destin'd for guests; you are the first that makes use of it: for since we have been establish'd in a place so distant from the publick roads as this is, you are the only one we have had the honour of seeing: I am sorry we have no one here to attend you; but the harvest, which began yesterday, so employs our small household, that you won't see, 'till sun-set, a friend, almost as aged as my father, who is so kind as to bear us company in our solitude, an ancient menial servant; and a damsel who attends me: 'till then, you will be pleas'd to take up with the small repast I am preparing for my father; we will go to him together, after you have taken your first refreshment in this place where I leave you, and whence you may come out when you think fit. Cheres coming out again in about half an hour, this beautiful person conducted him into her father's chamber; and after having introduc'd him, continu'd to prepare every thing for the repast.

CHERES found a man crush'd with years, who with all the pain imaginable could but just raise himself up to embrace him, but who, amidst the wrinkles of his countenance,

had

had preserv'd a great appearance of dignity. He would have made no doubt of his being prince Zoros himself, but for this daughter, who must have been the sister of Saphon and Giscon, and of whom, however, he had never heard any mention made, tho' she must have been born when he saw the two brothers at Memphis. Suspending therefore his judgment, and not being willing to open his mind without knowing for certain with whom he spoke, or at least without having attempted to get information from one or other of those who were to return in the evening, he seated himself at the table, with the father and daughter only, with an air of common civility. But to divert likewise all curiosity which they might have on his account; he ingenuously confess'd that he was an Egyptian, who having had an inclination for travelling, and especially to see the sacred country of the Hesperides, had follow'd the Phœnician merchants, who had brought him to Lixa; but he was cautious of mentioning by what sea. Speaking next to his hosts, as if they were Atlantes, he gave great encomiums to this nation, and accompany'd his account of the customs he had observ'd among them, with agreeable reflections. Both father and daughter, who had gain'd great knowledge, as well by their misfortune as birth, fancy'd they perceiv'd a secret affection in their guest for

P 4 them,



them, and they conceiv'd on his account confus'd ideas of hope, which they were impatient to communicate to one another. They both reckon'd very much upon clearing up their doubts by means of the other old man, their friend, whom they did not expect 'till the evening, and to whom they imagin'd the stranger, for reasons he was yet ignorant of, would open himself with much greater freedom than to them. Therefore soon after dinner was over, the young person said to Cheres, That her father, not being able to overcome the slumber with which he was always seiz'd after meals, would soon be incapable of enjoying his conversation; and that he, being tir'd with his journey, and faint with the violent heat of the day, might perhaps soon want sleep himself; to which end she would conduct him into the guest-chamber, from whence he might, towards evening, go into the walks; that there he would see the friend she had told him of return, and who perhaps might know him, as he had not always liv'd in that retirement.

THE impatience Cheres had to get that knowledge he now thought himself near obtaining, left him no inclination to sleep, and even palliated the necessity of it; some words, his host had let fall, had added to his curiosity, which at first only regarded their interest,
something

something which was personal and of concern to himself; so he only went into the chamber to go out again at the other door. The by-walks, bowers, and fountains which were on each side of the main walk did not stop him. When he was at the end of it, he view'd numbers of little hillocks, planted with fruit trees, which environ'd several country-houses dispers'd here and there. On each side of the river he saw at a distance plains cover'd with corn or cattle. Among all these objects he only look'd for the place from whence he might expect the old man: but seeing a great number of reapers at work in the fields, he consider'd the surest way would be to wait 'till the evening should separate them. He likewise resolv'd to return nearer towards the house, that the person he expected might not get thither by a shorter way. As he was coming back, and turning his head frequently towards the other end of the walk, he perceiv'd at last a man alone, whom, by his slow gait, and his body bowing somewhat downwards, he judg'd must be the person he had been told of. He immediately went to meet him, and walking an easy pace, he resolv'd to observe him at as great a distance as he could discern any features of his face. He was not long before he knew who this old man was; so running towards him, just as he was beginning to salute him,
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he embrac'd him, crying, Oh, my father! my dear father! my dear Amedes! have the gods had this happiness for me in store to let me see you again? Amedes answer'd him: My lord, by your words you should be prince Sethos; but does death restore his prey? or am I so happy that my tears have been without a cause? Be no longer in doubt of it, reply'd Cheres, I escap'd from the disorder of the battle of Coptos. There needs no other proof of acquaintance among initiates but the secrets of the initiation itself. Whom did you conduct to the bottom of the well of the pyramid? To whom were the three questions upon heroism propos'd in your presence? Whom did you hear resolve them by answering, alas! that great commander Saphon, whom the Carthaginians have lately lost? These proofs are very prevalent, return'd the old man, but what insuperable captivity, what subterranean prison has conceal'd from the world, during the space of eight years, an initiate of so great hopes as prince Sethos; or how has he suffer'd an unknown Egyptian, a common soldier, Cheres, to deprive him of all the honour of the present age? I myself am Cheres, cry'd the stranger. Amedes then throwing himself on his knees, embrac'd him, saying; My prince, now you own yourself to be Cheres, I know you to be Sethos. The prince having rais'd him up, Amedes con-

tinued,

tinued, My lord, I always believ'd, if you were living, you must be Cheres: but for two or three years last past, a report has been privately spread abroad, that you were conceal'd in Arabia. This report, which is believ'd every where, has even diverted the thoughts of every one from seeking you in the famous navigator Cheres. For my part, I should never have known you: The space of eight years, which has made little alteration in my face, being advanc'd in years, as I even then was, has chang'd yours from the flower of youth to the gravity of manhood. Even the tone of your voice is become more masculine, and your immense voyages have made you a man very different from what I left you. This has been my very design, said the prince, in being so long absent, and I purpose that the unknown Cheres shall, sooner or later, draw Sethos out of the grave, to place him on the throne. But that is not our business at present. My intent of succouring the Carthaginians brings me to this retirement. The king of the Atlantides, who knows my design, has intrusted me with the secret of this house; he has inform'd me, that it is inhabited by Carthaginians, but he is ignorant who they are, and supposes you to be a Carthaginian too. He has allow'd me to come, as if by chance. I am therefore here to get what instructions I stand in need of,

of, in order to attempt the deliverance of this empire. The fleet I left at Banasa will pass by the port of Lixus in eight or ten days, to take me in, and transport me thither. It will therefore be necessary, my dear Amedes, that you instruct me in the real situation of this republick : But to save you the trouble of reciting what I know already, I shall acquaint you, that by means of eight Carthaginian vessels, which were driven by a storm into the port of Lixus, and are now departed again, I have been inform'd of the war wag'd by Anteus against this nation : The circumstances of the siege of Siga, begun, suspended, and renewed ; of the deplorable fall of Giscon ; and his illegal marriage with the princess, the daughter of Anteus, who assisted her father in corrupting and deceiving him : the departure of this king to the city of Tubusuptus, near the walls of which the brave Saphon lost his life : the effect this news had on Giscon, who secretly left Siga, and abandon'd his new wife, attended only by two slaves ; his arrival at Carthage, the siege of which was already advanc'd ; the publick confession he made of his crime to the people ; the resolution with which he insisted, that his two slaves might be admitted into the palace to bear witness against him ; the sentence the senate pronounc'd against the criminal, and the commands he had receiv'd

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to go in quest of succours to deliver his country before he submitted to death; the departure of prince Zoros, whom the senate was resolv'd to put in safety, for fear of the worst, without letting the people know the place of this retirement; to conclude, the liberty the senate had given to all the citizens, who were not of service, to seek refuge in other nations bordering on the Mediterranean. Thus far went their relation, and the knowledge the Carthaginians seem'd to have of the present state of this fatal war. From you, my dear Amedes, I expect a farther account. As you are here in company with Carthaginians, and, without doubt, came from Carthage with them, you are certainly better acquainted with all circumstances. But I expect that you begin your relation by the incident which led you to this people, and made you a companion of their misfortunes. After that, I shan't refuse giving you alone my history as Sethos; and during a day or two, which I may perhaps yet remain with these hosts, I shall find more than one opportunity of relating, if they desire it, my adventures as Cheres. For though I have already din'd with them, our discourse ran only on general topicks. It seems as if we all referr'd to you for our mutual information; and they don't even know me by the name of Cheres, which I have

have taken to conceal me 'till I return to Egypt.

My lord, said Amedes, your curiosity is too favourable for the Carthaginians not to inform you of every thing which concerns them. But, if you think fit, we'll go and seat ourselves something nearer the house; that your hosts, seeing us from thence, may not be uneasy either on your or my account. Having pitch'd upon a convenient place, Amedes thus began his relation :

To go back, my lord, to that fatal night, in which I had the misfortune to be separated from you ; you may perhaps remember, that I exhorted you under the gate of Coptos, not to let your courage get the mastery over you, nor to go out of the city, in repulsing the enemy, who were attempting to force their way in. A moment afterwards I fell myself, as, without doubt, you did, into the inconveniency I advis'd you to avoid ; and our own people pushing me on, I was hurry'd out of the gate on the right hand, on that side the troops of the king of This were. There I receiv'd a wound with a sword which laid me on the ground ; but the soldiers themselves who had wounded me, perceiving the initiate's vest, which hung out under my cuirass, carry'd me into their quarters. There, after my

wound,

wound, which did not prove mortal, was dress'd, they the next morning brought me the news of your death being reported every where. A violent fever seiz'd me upon hearing this loss of all my cares, but more at that which all mankind suffer'd in you. My conquerors, who had resolv'd to carry me away that day to their king at Abydus, thought themselves oblig'd to stay 'till the morrow, if they would present me alive: and for the same end they made the conveniencies for my travelling as easy as possible. The king of This knew me, because the great Sesonchis, your grandfather, had sent me to make the first proposals of a marriage between the late queen Nephte, your mother, and Osoth your father, who is yet living: so he receiv'd me with great marks of goodness. I took advantage of it to exhort him to a peace with the king of Memphis. The king of This, taking your part without your knowledge, had complain'd, that the king, your father, prefer'd the children he had by Daluca to the only son he had had by queen Nephte, his sister. I understood that Daluca had attempted on that account to traduce me to the king, by insinuating, that it was I who had suggested this complaint to the king of This; and that I had even prompted him to join with the king of Thebes against him. Your death, which was generally believ'd, removing all pretext

pretext for the king of This to continue the war, I made use of this as an argument for him, and got the peace concluded, indifferent whether it might confirm or destroy the unjust accusation of Daluca, who is yet living. But I thought vain suspicions ought not to hinder me from procuring a real and assur'd advantage to my country. I had not the same thoughts of the quiet and honourable residence the king of This was pleas'd to offer me at his court. I had no design of returning to Memphis. The attempts of Daluca on my person were very little disturbance to me, and would but have serv'd to shorten a life which began to be troublesome to me: but being from that time of no service, I fear'd seeing those places which could not but increase my affliction. The court of This, which gave birth to the queen your mother, would indisputably have been a retirement agreeable to my age and inclination. But I would not give this handle to calumny, when it only concern'd my satisfaction and conveniency: and I chose rather to condemn myself to perpetual exile than to leave my accusers this shadow of proof, that I ever had any understanding with the king of This. I went yet farther, and consider'd, that if I abandon'd Memphis, it would not be proper for me to retire to any king of Egypt. I therefore fix'd my views for Carthage. I was known to prince

Zoros,

Zoros, because I had been ambassador to him from your illustrious grandfather, to congratulate him upon the foundation of his city and empire, and to make an offer of mutual friendship. I was very well receiv'd by him, tho' this second time I came as a man without title or credit: and we were soon cemented, if I may be allow'd to say it, in the strictest bonds of friendship. I have seen his two sons increase in years and merit, alas! both excellent men, tho' of characters a little too different one from the other. I now come, my lord, to what is most material in the relation you have desired of me. But avoiding whatever, having been transacted publicly, will appear in the history of our age, and which I find is already known to you, I shall discover some curious anecdotes, the soul of visible events, which being unfolded, will perhaps inspire you with a new zeal for the interest of prince Zoros and his family.

You know, without doubt, that a bare sight of the princess Zarita, the daughter of Anteus, captivated the unfortunate Giffon, the very first day he was so indiscreet as to go into Siga, the siege of which he had suspended. But what became of him, when in the course of the conversation he had with her, he perceiv'd an excellent fund of that refin'd virtue, which 'till then had

been so familiar to him, and from which he now found himself fall'n? The princess to whom her father had introduc'd Giskon not as a person who had been drawn aside but as a mediator between the two nations receiv'd him with a cordiality capable of affecting the most insensible mind. She soon confess'd to him, that having very early lamented her being brought up in a nation barbarous, and without any principles of religion or manners, she had found some glimpse of comfort, when in the height of her affliction, on Siga being invested, she was inform'd it was he who was come to form the siege of that city. That she immediately presum'd to hope the gods had sent this enemy, famous for so many heroick actions, which had been crown'd by the initiation of Memphis, to be her deliverer. That, in short, she admir'd the secret ways of providence which by the consent and even orders of her father, was going, in all appearance, to unite her fate for ever with that of the most virtuous man living. Such tender discourse produc'd in a heart, where humanity was before almost extended to a weakness, effects by so much the more lively, as they were innocent and lawful on the part of the princess: and the love of Giskon increased infinitely, by the compassion he himself had of the error into which he had led her. His intentions indeed were to repair his present fault

fault during the whole course of his life, and, sooner or later, to justify, by new endeavours after virtue, the good opinion Zarita had of him. But at that time his business was to disguise the irregularity of his conduct, which he plainly perceiv'd was but a fatal mixture of weakness and temerity. Falshood, which unhappily becomes necessary to those who do evil, was always a great trouble to him; he avoided it likewise as much as possible: but he did not disprove those untruths which the king made use of in the presence of his daughter, generally with such a cunning as hardly left the appearance of a falsity in the expressions, but which infallibly deceiv'd the minds of those they were levell'd at. During the time they were waiting for an answer from Carthage, they had nothing however to do, but to amuse the princess with the plausible hopes of a consent from prince Zoros, for the marriage of Giscon: but he had not presum'd even to make the proposal to his father; and in this expectation he had equally deceiv'd the king and his daughter. He deceiv'd at last, in the very palace of Anteus, where he then was, a letter from the senate, which, treating him as a criminal of state, commanded him to resign his office, as general, to his lieutenant, who had orders to renew the siege. The king and he thought it necessary to conceal this letter from the

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princess;

princess; but they shew'd her that from prince Zoros, which was full of tenderness and confidence with regard to Giscon. His father gave him full power to negotiate a peace by such means as he should judge most expedient, assuring him not only of his consent, but approbation. On this, king Anteus, impatient of concluding the marriage which he intended to make, not a seal of the peace, but the cloak of his perfidy, thought proper to tell his daughter in the presence of Giscon, that her lover had mention'd the article of marriage in the letter to which they shew'd her an answer: but that the messenger had told them both, that prince Zoros, out of a regard for the discontented senate, who had order'd the renewal of the siege, would only give his father a general permission, which he with joy consented to his embracing. Thus, tho' Giscon had confess'd to the king, that he had not 'till then presum'd to mention this alliance to his father; he never dar'd to oppose this discourse of Anteus, by unfolding the truth of what would have been, on the princess's side, a violent obstacle to the marriage, which to him was become one of those crimes we are resolv'd to commit before we repent of them. It is true, the princess was not fully satisfy'd that she had not the consent of prince Zoros in form. Nevertheless, hurry'd on by her father, by

her lover, and more-especially by her own inclination, she consented to the celebration of the marriage, which was perform'd in due form, tho' in haste. The ceremony being ended, Giscon presum'd to write to his father : he inform'd him of the cession of the Mauritania Massæsyliensis as an expedient he thought necessary ; and of his marriage with the princess, to whom Anteus gave this province in dowry, as a proposal at a distance : but, whatever was the occasion of it, these letters never came to hand.

IN the mean time our young bridegroom receiv'd a terrible lecture, when being left with the princess alone in the evening, she said to him : My lord, I am now come to the greatest happiness of my life, by being your's, and, as I believe, belov'd by you ; but you know there yet wants one circumstance, which I always insisted on, to compleat our union, and without which it can be no more than an union of the mind and heart. I may be allow'd to be more jealous of my virtue and person than my father. The assurance he seems to have of the consent of prince Zoros, is sufficient for him in the politick views upon which he acts ; and the absolute authority he has over me, will always justify the publick consent I have given to the present he has made you. But this assurance and this authority are not of
Q 3 sufficiency

sufficiency enough for me actually to give up myself. I must read my name written by the hand of prince Zoros, or hear it proceed out of his own mouth, before I give his son an absolute right over Zarita. I see, with a very great satisfaction, the value your father places on your virtue and wisdom, and the approbation he gives to your zeal, and the steps you take towards a peace. I am at the same time sensibly concern'd at the unjust inquietude your senate gives you, who are too much bent on a war, and don't fall in too well with the situation my father has brought matters to, without consulting me, and against my will. I have marry'd you, my lord, to partake of your troubles and misfortunes, and not to seek my own satisfaction in the midst of those my country and you are involv'd in. Continue to labour, as you have hitherto done, for the happiness of other men. Ours, before the success of your assiduities, would in time be to ourselves but a subject of reproach and remorse. At this discourse Giscon appear'd overwhelm'd with confusion and sorrow but the princess appear'd inflexible.

THE next day Anteus declar'd to the new-marry'd couple, that he was going to depart privately for the Mauritania Massasyliensis, to prepare every thing for their reception and coronation. I must tell you

by the way, that Giscon had refus'd the title of king for himself; 'till he had brought his father to consent to the cession of this kingdom, which Saphon's arms had made tributary to the Carthaginians, but of which Anteus was actually master by his troops. The king added, speaking to Giscon in particular, that he advis'd him, together with his wife, to keep pretty closely retir'd within the palace, whether with regard to her, to prevent the bottom of their secret coming too soon to her ears; or with respect to him, because the disapprobation of his senate, the loss of the command of his army, and especially the renewal of the siege, had not a little lessen'd the esteem and good-will the inhabitants had had for him. He went yet farther: For at his departure he gave orders to have them confin'd in the palace, and to suffer but a very small number of persons, whom he nam'd, to go into it: because he would not have the new-marry'd couple know before it was time, that instead of being contented with the whole kingdom of the Massæsylians, he was going to carry on a war with the utmost rigour, and to attempt the taking of Carthage itself. As soon as Giscon found he was a prisoner, he us'd his endeavours to win some of the guards, and he succeeded by means of presents. With their help, and by the several artifices of his slave, who was likewise confin'd,

Q 4

fin'd, he, in a short time, got the news of the victory Anteus had obtain'd over the Carthaginians at Tubusuptus, as well as of the death of Saphon, who was slain in the battle, and soon afterwards of the siege of Carthage. His uneasiness had for some time appear'd more visible even in the eyes of Zarita; who, on her side, was concern'd at the reserve and secrecy which she perceiv'd he affected with regard to her. But at this last news he was no longer master of himself, and coming hastily into her chamber, where she was alone, he said; Madam, your father has deceiv'd us; and so far from being contented with the Mauritania Massasyliensis, of which he propos'd to make you queen; he has not only invaded the Mauritania Sitifensis, but is at this time in the centre of the Carthaginian empire, and besieges my father in his capital. My lord, says Zarita, I confess that this proceeding has broken all your engagements with my father: it is your duty to go to the succour of your's. So far from diverting you from it, I myself will follow you in your flight. The laws of Hymen make our duty the same; and I join with my husband with so much the sincerer fervency, because I have been made the instrument of deceiving him. The cares and uneasinesses I have perceiv'd to increase daily in you, have been to me new motives of affection; be-

cause

cause I plainly saw, that the conduct of my father with regard to you, and the news you might have of the steps he was taking, were to you new subjects of discontent and diffidence. Oh! how happy do I esteem myself, amidst so many reproaches you have to make him, that I am fall'n into the hands of a generous husband, who won't confound the innocent with the guilty! and what reason have I to be pleas'd, that in my choice of you I sought nothing but that virtue which is now my only relief? Oh! Madam, answer'd Giscon, falling on his knees, I can no longer bear these praises. You see in me a criminal only, whom the violence of his passion has prompted to deceive you; as ambition has mov'd your father to deceive us both. At these words the princess cry'd out: You a criminal! you a deceiver! Unhappy that I am! What will become of me, and what example are the gods going to give the world in me? Then holding her veil before her face with both her hands, she lean'd her forehead against the wall which was nearest her. Giscon, rising of himself, continued: Yes, madam, I must at last confess it to you. The proceedings which led me to the name of your spouse were begun by imprudence, and ended in a crime. It was contrary to the orders of the senate I accepted of the first conference, which insensibly drew me
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near to a dangerous object which I ought not to have seen; and it is without the knowledge of my father I have at last marry'd the daughter of his irreconcilable enemy. Your equity has already made you perceive that I ought to lend assistance to a father, to attempt recovering him from the abyss I have plung'd him into; and your wisdom will soon make you comprehend, that it will be impossible for me to appear before him with a spouse, whom he would look upon as the spring of all his misfortunes. I undoubtedly owe him the sacrifice of love, which I may perhaps yet do too late to preserve his life. But, blinded that I am! do I pretend to justify my departure to the virtuous Zarita? It is she who ought to banish me for ever from her presence, since she knows my unworthiness and my treachery, with regard even to her. Yes, madam, I fly to conceal my shame from you. All I have to beg of you is, not to exert your vengeance so far as to detain me here: trust it to the justice of the Carthaginian senate, and don't deprive me of the means of returning to my duty before my approaching death.

GISCON actually went out, when the princess ran after him, and stopping him, said: Unhappy Giscon! I perceive your fall, by the blindness which accompanies even your
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your design in order to repair it. You have betray'd your country and your father, and you think to appease the gods by renouncing your wife. It is the consequence of criminal actions, that it is not always easy to depart from them, or that one can't abandon their object when one would. Your infidelity to Carthage, would, without doubt, not be so fatal as it is, if your crime itself had not burthen'd you with a new duty here. You must submit to all the inconveniencies you have laid yourself under, and at the same time fulfil those obligations which seem contradictory. Yes, whatever interest I may have in my present discourse, and tho' my life depends on your fidelity; I have the assurance and the courage to give you my advice as the law of the gods themselves. They have made you subject to a father, and you have engag'd yourself to a wife. It is for you to reconcile the rights of one and the other. I will conform myself to all the measures which may contribute to this design: but, in short, it is your duty to carry a wife with you, who herself thinks it a duty to follow you.

You follow me! said Giscon: Oh, madam, you will soon alter your mind; when you know I am outlaw'd, and declar'd a criminal of state by the senate of Carthage. I only go thither to submit to the sentence
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by which I am already condemn'd ; and to suffer, in the sight of all my fellow-citizens, the death which is preparing for me, and which I have but too-well deserv'd. All I have to flatter myself with, is, the hopes of some succour, which I may perhaps find opportunity of giving my country, before I put myself into the hands of my judges. The command of the Carthaginian army which they have depriv'd me of, is but preliminary to this dreadful catastrophe. Behold the husband you would follow ! Enjoy rather here the liberty you will have, on the breach of a marriage, which my death will soon effect, which is already annull'd, by the disapprobation of the gods, and of men, and which you yourself have known how to make of no consequence.

You are outlaw'd, Giscon, (reply'd the princess) : This reason strengthens my resolution of following you : My honour requires me to clear myself, in the minds of your father and the senate, from the suspicion, which they must have conceiv'd, of my being concern'd in the treachery against them ; and that I have lent my father my name and hand to confirm their ruin. Don't believe, that, inform'd as I now am, of the true cause of their misfortune, and of that part which probability gives me in it, I would with you accept of a refuge in any nation

nation which might be offer'd us. You ought to go no-where but to Carthage, whatever danger you incur there, either from the enemies of your empire, or the incens'd Carthaginians, because it is there alone you can at least endeavour to repair your crime ; and to Carthage only do I propose to accompany you ; because it is there I will be justify'd, in my own presence, by your testimony. I carry my hope yet farther ; and I don't know what secret surmise presages that my justification will be of advantage to you : A private fault, a personal frailty, is always less odious than a combination ; and who knows whether an innocent wife mayn't save a guilty husband ? Your father will thank me, for having lessen'd your disobedience, by the reserve which, notwithstanding the band publickly form'd and seal'd by mine, has made me resolve to live with you as a sister and as a friend, 'till I can obtain the consent of prince Zoros, either sign'd by his hand, or spoken by his own mouth. Your senate, notwithstanding their present animosities, will perhaps have some regard for the daughter of the renown'd Anteus, who renounces all the glory of her father, to concern herself for the misfortunes of Carthage, and the welfare of their prince's son. The wisdom of this illustrious assembly, whose decisions are laid down as a rule for all the world, will, without doubt,

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move them to some conclusion for our advantage. In a word ; I expose my self to their judgment more sedately with you, than I should suffer you to expose yourself alone.

It is enough, Madam, (answer'd Giscon) after having open'd my mind to you, and, to acquit my self of my duty, inform'd you of the whole state of my case, I give way to your generosity. Fall'n as I am from my pristine virtue, I ought to submit to advices more enlighten'd than my own : but we must both disguise ourselves, to get out of this palace ; and I believe likewise I shan't be able to convey you in any other manner into Carthage. The princess consented to all ; and they agreed, that Giscon should let the general of the besiegers know his own design, without saying any thing of her : That he should only advise him, He design'd to escape, with two slaves arm'd like himself, under favour of a sally which the besieged were to make on the night mention'd. All this was carry'd on and perform'd with all the prudence and success imaginable. The princess, my lord, was one of the two slaves you were told of, in the history which has been related to you. She could not carry along with her any thing but the jewels she had in her possession. Tho' Giscon and his slave held her always between them, and fought vigorously

roully to defend her from all peril, 'till they could make themselves known to the besiegers, she was ten times in danger of her life : but providence at last deliver'd her, and they were all three conducted into the general's tent, who gave Giscon a frigate under his command, in which there were no more men than were necessary to sail her. At the first port he provided himself with every thing fitting to supply the necessity and conveniency of the princess : He comforted her as much as was possible during this navigation, treating her, however, in outward appearance as a slave, and trusting nobody with the secret but her pretended comrade. He got a sort of garment made for each of them, which reach'd down to their feet ; and had a sort of hood, which intirely cover'd their heads ; that under this plain and even ordinary covering the princess, at entering into Carthage, might be cloath'd in a manner pretty near conformable to her sex and birth. They arriv'd there, notwithstanding some rough weather at sea, which fatigu'd them, without retarding their voyage.

I SHAN'T repeat the manner in which Giscon enter'd the city, and pass'd through all the streets to the prince's palace ; nor the resolution with which he insist'd on entrance for his two slaves, because you have
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been inform'd of these circumstances already ; but shall proceed to what the people were then left in ignorance of, and what was transacted in private in this assembly of the senate, into which the prince and senators were pleas'd to admit me. Giscon went immediately and prostrated himself at the foot of his father's throne, while his two slaves were on their knees at a pretty distance behind him : He told him, raising up his head and body so far as to be able to speak, That it was a great sorrow to him, his death was not sufficient to repair the evils he had been the cause of : That he wish'd, however, his prince, whom he was not worthy to call father, would allow him to combat day and night, during the siege, at the most violent assaults : That he would publicly renounce the honour which generally accompanies a like death : That he himself would declare it a punishment ; and that he would actually come and submit to death, if he return'd alive from the last action he should be expos'd to.

PRINCE Zoros immediately order'd him to arise, and to sit down upon a bench which was behind him ; and he made a sign at the same time, that the two slaves should be seated on another at the bottom of the hall, against the wall ; after which, he spake as follows : Giscon, when your brother thought
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he had kill'd you at the battle of Capfa, I would not receive him otherwise than in the senate: It is but just that I should receive you in the same manner; you who are in reality by far more culpable than he. But there is something which distinguishes the circumstances; Your brother's courage urg'd him on to conquests I little approv'd of; and I had no part in the personal injustice he then did you. Here, on the contrary, I am the first cause of your misfortunes and mine, and, of what is yet more grievous, the misfortunes of the Carthaginian empire. The deplorable condition into which you have reduc'd it, is the consequence of my predilection for you, perhaps at first ill-grounded; but too distinguish'd in outward appearance, and too little justify'd in its effects: It was that which made me oppose the advice of the senate, which knew better than I what you were both fit for: That, in short, made me lose the eldest of my sons by an irreparable death; and the second, by an inexcusable crime. I shall therefore decline being your judge, because I am in some manner your accomplice. I am even yet less authoriz'd to complain of the particular crime you have been guilty of, against that paternal authority, which I myself have not known how to preserve over you. We have an account by other hands than your's, that, abusing the general permission I had the weakness to

give you, without the knowledge of the senate, to promote a peace by such means as you might think the most efficacious, you have suffer'd yourself to be tempted by the charms and seductions of the daughter of our mortal enemy, whom you have marry'd, and who is now triumphing with her father over our loss, and perhaps even at your flight. I forgive you all this, my son, tho' I can't forgive it my self; but here are your judges: As they can't be mine, the least I could do for the publick satisfaction is, to receive in your person the punishment to which they shall judge proper to condemn you.

I DON'T know, my lord, (continu'd Amedes) what opinion you will have of this discourse from a prince to his senate: but if you vouchsafe to reflect, that the power of this prince was not wholly absolute, perhaps you mayn't disapprove, under circumstances so deplorable as these, a proceeding which, on one part, unfolded the very bottom of his intention and his desires; and which, on the other hand, disarm'd the judges, by a submission, to which this venerable old man, in some manner, reduc'd even his own person. Be it as it will, Giscon, keeping his seat, spoke thus: Venerable senators! it is not enough that I acknowledge my self guilty in gene-
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ral; I think my self oblig'd, that I may give you a more certain foundation for your sentence against me, to inform you particularly of my conduct at Siga. Upon this, he gave a faithful account of all that pass'd in the discourses he had held with Anteus without the city, and in his palace; the manner in which the king had at first presented, and afterwards offer'd him his daughter, together with the Massæsylian crown; the answers he had given him to these two articles; and, in short, the conclusion of his marriage, which Anteus, the better to conceal his perfidious designs, had extremely press'd. But with regard to the character and thoughts of the princess, in the design Giscon had of surprizing the assembly, in a more lively manner, by her presence, he was contented with saying; However, O ye just judges! it is not enough, that I accuse my self, if, at the same time, I don't justify innocence. By marrying the princess, the daughter of Anteus, I have been no less criminal towards her, than towards my father. To make her consent to this union, both her father and I have been oblig'd to disguise the real state of affairs: I have suffer'd myself to be represented to her as a mediator authorized by both nations; and, in short, I have given her room to be persuaded, that my prince and father had not granted me the general permission,

of which he himself has made mention, but upon the express proposal I had made him, in my letter, of my marriage with her. She has gone yet farther; and I must confess, to her honour, and my confusion, that she has constantly persisted in remaining a virgin, notwithstanding the actual consent of her own father, 'till she should have that of prince Zoros, sign'd by his own hand, or pronounc'd, in her hearing, by word of mouth. She alone is the cause that my disobedience in this point has not been compleat. I was the first who inform'd her of her father's perfidy, while he kept us confin'd at Siga; and the moment she knew it, she was the first to put me in mind of my duty, which I was about to represent to her, of going to the assistance of my own father, notwithstanding all my ties to her's. Far from rejoicing at the unjust success of Anteus, all her concern was for my repentance, and that I might fulfil my duty, however difficult I, by my own conduct, had render'd it. You shall hear my witnesses, and be convinc'd of the truth of what I assert.

IMMEDIATELY, arising from his seat, in a manner suitable to the sentiments with which he was affected, he ran to the bottom of the hall, and taking the chief of the two slaves by the arm, the other following, he return'd towards his father and his judges. In the mean

mean time, taking off her hood and cloak, which he threw upon the arm of the other slave, the princess appear'd in a proper habit, with all the modesty of an accus'd, and all the resolution of an innocent person. Never was the empire of beauty better display'd: The whole senate stood up, to shew their respect, and, for a time, nothing was heard but murmurs of surprize and admiration: but reflecting at last, that they were senators and judges, they agreed, that they were not to consider in the princess Zarita either beauty or birth; and had only to admire her prudence, integrity, and resolution: They declar'd her, as by acclamation, the most perfect of lovers, and the most virtuous of wives. They then address'd themselves with one voice to their prince, and said, It was not for them to prescribe any thing concerning his consent to his son's marriage: but that if the princess carry'd her constancy so far, as to desire being irrevocably his, before she heard the sentence which was going to decide his fate, it would be a pleasure to them to be witnesses of prince Zoros's approbation of this union. The princess herself, who already saw in the eyes of this tender father the inward satisfaction he receiv'd from this general applause, took Giscon by the hand, and kneel'd with him on the lowermost step of his throne. This good prince, with tears

in his eyes, said ; Come nearer, children, and receive my embraces, which I am not able to advance to give you. None could then refrain from, or conceal their tears. As soon as this passion was a little appeas'd, prince Zoros said to Zarita ; Incomparable princess ! of whom neither my son nor I am worthy, grant this comfort to my age, never to call me otherwise than father. Oh ! (cry'd Sethos, upon hearing this) she it is who is here with prince Zoros, and I now see the whole sequel of their history : This is an example I perhaps wanted, to keep up in me, or to bring me back to that modesty from whence it is so easy for men to depart. I find I have hitherto perform'd nothing so heroick as this princess has done ; and the greater is my advantage, as I am humbled by the example of a woman. My lord ! (reply'd Amedes, prudently) it is truly not my design to depreciate her virtue ; but you may observe, that love has been her great support. It is happy, without doubt, that this passion did not oppose the first cautions her prudence made her take, with regard to her husband ; but in truth, tho' the possession of what we admire, is not excluded by heroick love, it is always its most distant object ; it must give place to the interest of the person belov'd, which is sometimes opposite even to possession, and, above all, to the fulfilling those duties which render

render us more worthy of the same person's esteem and respect. After that, the labours and perils we go through in favour of the beloved object, in my opinion, are to be greatly valu'd, with regard to the grandeur of soul; but with regard to virtue, not at all, if they have had no other motive. Heroick love, by which I mean, that passion of a generous heart, that refin'd flame, which does not hinder men from being great, but rather encourages them to be so, is, without dispute, far above that vulgar love, that mean satisfaction, or unruly fury of the senses, which levels the great man to the condition of the most contemptible, and these to that of beasts: but, my lord, for your ease and advantage, I wish you may never make trial of either. You will soon return to the kingdom to which you are heir. The exploits you have hitherto perform'd, and those you are now going to in favour of the Carthaginians, will set the eyes of all the beauties of Egypt upon you. They will suffer themselves to be first inflav'd by the high merit and reputation of which even your feign'd name will give them an idea. Then, my lord, be upon your guard against this stumbling-block of heroes; and think, that for one example, as this of the princess, where duty itself requir'd a perseverance, there are a thousand in which the only great action there is room for, in a passion which

seems the most innocent, is to suppress and quench it. In the mean time, you are not deceiv'd in your conjecture, that prince Zoros and the princess Zarita are your hosts here. But, to finish my relation, I have yet to tell you, That immediately after the confirmation of the marriage, the senate, in order to proceed to a resolution with regard to their sentence, order'd two officers to convey the prisoners into an adjoining apartment, where the prince gave orders for their being entertain'd with such refreshments as they stood in great need of.

UPON the offer Giscon had made, of fighting on the ramparts, they thought it would be much more advantageous, if he could procure succour from some of their neighbours ; and their eyes were upon the Capsans. This people had soon forgiven the refusal he had heretofore made, of commanding them at the battle of Capsa ; and after his return from Egypt, had sent him an ambassy, to thank him, as the author of their foundation, and for the laws he had given them. He has likewise been more than once to visit them. This new proposal was carry'd to him in the apartment where he was ; and you will easily judge he accepted of it with joy : but they thought it expedient to conceal from the people the place whither he was going, that Anteus might

might likewise be the longer ignorant of it. Besides, the senate, willing to take the ways of lenity, as you have already seen by their sentence, which was made known to every one, was glad to let the citizens see that Gifcon made a good use of their favour, or at least of the time which their delaying the execution of their sentence gave him. For much the same reason, they thought proper, as yet, to conceal the princess, and to send her instantly with the prince into this retreat, which they resolv'd to keep secret, and whither they desir'd me to accompany them. We all then thought Anteus would not fail of making a great bustle about the rape of his daughter: but the person the king of the Atlantides has allow'd us for our affairs without doors, brought, some time ago, a letter from one of the senate, directed to prince Zoros, under the feign'd name he has taken, and which was brought to Lixus by a trusty Carthaginian. This letter advises us, that Anteus was not ignorant of his daughter's escape; but as she had been streightly confin'd in the palace of Siga, he gave orders to have it kept a secret; and he disguises it himself, to avert all proposals of accommodation, which a desire and hope of reducing Carthage would not allow him to think of. The senate, to conclude, resolv'd in the same assembly, That the senators, without divulging to any

any one what they had agreed to keep secret, should, however, in discourse among their friends, say whatever they could in justification of Giscon, or to lessen his crime; as the means made use of by Anteus to seduce him, and the violation of the promises he had made him. By this means the Carthaginians, who did not come out of Carthage 'till after we departed, got a knowledge of what has been related to you from them.

As soon as the sentence was drawn up, the two prisoners were brought again into the hall, and it was read to them before it was publish'd. Giscon made no answer, but on the contrary, shew'd great signs of gratitude towards his father and the senate. But, the princess said, that since the term of her husband's life was limited to the first child he was to have by her, it was yet at a great distance: and speaking herself in some manner as a judge, she added, that prince Zoros, whom she thought herself happy in calling father, ought to be satisfy'd, as a reparation of the frailties he had accus'd himself of, never to see a grandchild sitting on his knees. I hope, continued she, that the king, my father, will give ear to reason, and accept of a treaty of peace with Carthage. But if it should be my misfortune, that nothing but force will have

have that effect upon him, and he should, on any occasion, die by the hands of my husband, I shall keep my resolution as long as I live. I know this consideration ought to have no influence on Giscon, when the welfare of his country is at stake : but no one shall ever constrain me to make him who should stain his hands in my father's blood a partner in my bed. The eldest of the senators answer'd in the name of the whole body, that there was nothing in this resolution of the princefs but what was commendable : but that the gods would facilitate matters, and furnish means to adjust every thing.

AMÉDES having here finish'd his narrative, told the prince, that the approaching night inform'd them it was time to return to the house, where he did not doubt but their hosts waited for them with impatience. That for the same reason he would defer 'till the morrow, to beg he would acquaint him how of Sethos he was become Cheres. But that he would hardly be dispens'd from relating to them, during their repast, the discoveries for which all the world was indebted to him, and the settlements he had in particular procur'd the Phœnicians. Cheres answer'd him, he was ready to do whatever the prince and princefs should desire of him ; but that he thought the most
urgent

urgent and important affair for them would be to confer together, on the surest and readiest means to relieve Carthage. Amedes reply'd, that tho' Zarita had espous'd all the interests of her new country, especially against an unjust and perfidious father, who had, in some measure, sold and sacrific'd her to his ambition, it would, however, be an uneasiness, as well to her as them, for her to be present at consultations for fixing the plan of a war, in which Anteus was to be attack'd personally. That therefore he thought it would be better to put off that subject to a conference they would hold the next day in Zoros's cabinet. While he was speaking these words, they came to the gate which led to the great walk; and being inform'd by the servants, who were there before them, that the princess, whom however they did not call so, was with her father, they went up into his chamber. Amedes spoke first, and told them, he had the honour of presenting to them the famous Cheres. Prince Zoros answer'd, that his daughter and he both believ'd their guest was no common person: that they had flatter'd themselves Amedes would know him, as being both Egyptians; and that he would confirm them in the honours they design'd to pay him. Upon which Amedes confess'd, that being indeed acquainted, not only with the name and person, but also with

with the character of this hero ; he had betray'd their secret to him to a good purpose, and dar'd to shew them in him a zealous defender, and the approaching restorer of the Carthaginian empire. The princess immediately answer'd, My lord, I take part, with an infinite gratitude, in all the obligations prince Zoros and my absent husband are going to have to you : but, if you have any pity for an afflicted princess, spare my father's person. You, whom fame has every where extoll'd for a benevolent conqueror, and a kind subduer, let not the weight of your success and your triumphs fall upon me. I am willing you should reduce my father to peace, but don't condemn me to tears by your victories ; don't, together with me, render a young brother, as innocent as I am in our father's undertaking, both orphans. Madam, answer'd Cheres, it is not here I have taken the resolution of relieving Carthage ; neither had I any thought of finding prince Zoros or the princess Zarita in this place. The gods inspir'd my soul with this design, from the moment I heard the injustice of king Anteus mention'd. You already do me the honour of being persuaded, that I am not thirsty after human blood ; but the gods alone can guide the event of a war, which perhaps may be long. On the other hand, madam, your desires are as commendable as the steps you have

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have taken ; and where-ever I may be, I shall always set the greatest value upon your virtue.

THE princess being oblig'd to take up with this answer, which indeed was the only one Cheres could give her, retir'd ; and went down herself, to prepare, with the help of the two servants, a repast more ample than the former, and such as the country and season could afford them means to provide. It was brought up into the chamber, and the prince having made Cheres sit down at the upper end of the table, the princess said, that their guest, having been present at a publick repast with the king of the Atlantides, would not be surpriz'd to see their servants sit at the end of the table, who would only get up to change the dishes. She added, that independant of the simplicity of this wonderful people, to which decency oblig'd them to conform, since they allow'd them to live amongst them ; their present fortune dispens'd them from those distinctions that another state might require. There are no slaves here, continued she ; the Atlantides know of no such thing among their inhabitants. But if the only privilege of the sacred country of the Hesperides had not freed this, said she, pointing at Giskon's ancient slave ; my father has been so good to tell me, more than

once,

once, that the courage with which he assisted my spouse to defend me from the perils I incurr'd in coming out of Siga, would have been a just pretence for his liberty. And with respect to this agreeable damsel you see, she never was a slave. She is a free Carthaginian, whom prince Zoros himself recommended to me at our departure from Carthage; and the desire I have to reward her fidelity and zeal, has some share in the impatience I labour under to see the restoration of this empire.

As soon as they were all seated, and had what they wanted set before them, Amedes, to prevent all other discourse, engag'd Cheres to relate his adventures. The whole company was charm'd with them. And tho' in a recital of his exploits made by himself, the glory of those who accompany'd him was more his care than his own; such noble actions, and the motives to them, which were yet nobler, gave the prince and princess room, each according to their wishes, to draw the most favourable presages for the service this hero was to render them. He spent all the next day with them: and, not to mention the private conversation he had early in the morning with Amedes, he took particular notice of all the informations he had gotten, with regard to his design, in the conferences which were held between Zoros,

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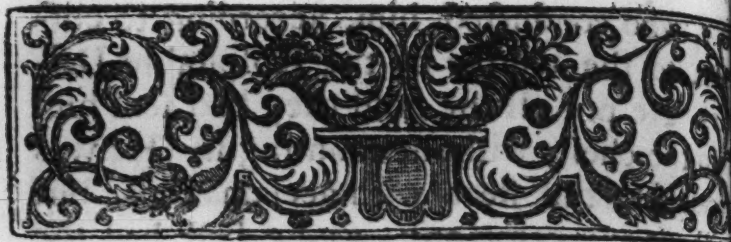
ros, Amedes, and himself, as well as from all he had heard from the princess of her own accord.

CHERES departed the third day, without suffering any one to accompany him a step beyond the gate, not to give suspicion to any of the Atlantides they might have met. He return'd to Lixa, where he remain'd but a day and a night, by consent of the king himself, to whom he affected to speak little. From thence he went the directest way to the port of Lixus, where the four days which pass'd before the arrival of his fleet were the longest he ever had in his life.

THE morning of the first day he went up to the top of a little eminence cover'd with trees, from whence he could see the full sea. And as he there found a grotto, in which there was a fountain of water, he chose that for his abode in the day-time; from whence he did not return to the hospital 'till towards the evening. He did not lose his time in this grotto: for there it was, that, pursuant to the information he had gotten, he form'd the plan of the war we are going to see. Tho' he arose very early the fifth day, beginning to be impatient, he was prevented by the boat which he saw coming into the harbour, thro' the windows of the

the hospital. He took leave of the governor, who conducted him, according to custom, to the temple of the Hospitable Deities. He put all the gold they had sent him into the chest, without counting it. He was receiv'd in the fleet with acclamations, but without any ceremony, as he had had the foresight to order, but in such manner as gave him great assurance of success in the enterprizes he was going to imploy it in.





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BOOK IX.



HERES examining all his vessels one by one, found them recruited with men, and furnish'd with ammunition and whatever else they wanted at their arrival at Banasa. They had been particularly careful to compleat their number of horses, of which they had, in proportion, lost more during the course of their voyage, than of their men: and it is remarkable

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that of all laborious animals, man can the longest withstand hardship, want of usual food, and change of climate. The two officers had acquitted themselves of their commission with great zeal; and tho' they could not be accused of having reveal'd their commander's secret; the Phœnicians of the fleet, as well as those at Banasa, could not forbear suspecting, that love of justice alone would exasperate him against Anteus. They had receiv'd more particular news concerning this king, by some vessels belonging to their country-men, which were arriv'd at that colony during the absence of Cheres. These latter deliver'd their cargoes with all expedition, to have the advantage of joining the main fleet, and to partake in the deliverance of the Carthaginians, their allies and kindred. It is true, the council of Banasa did not allow any Phœnicians residing there, to lift themselves for this expedition. As the kings of the Mauritania Tingitana had given the city to the colony, with a large territory belonging to it, as a sovereignty, in a prospect of the advantages which would accrue to them by the Phœnician commerce; they did not judge it prudent, or even just, for its inhabitants to take arms against him. But they suffer'd the travelling Phœnicians to provide there whatever they thought necessary for an expedition, which was not made publick.

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lick. Cheres having assembled a council of war, propos'd at first his general design of succouring the Carthaginians. This council answer'd unanimously, That the whole fleet had resolv'd to come in to this proposal before it was made, and would be very sorry to have their expectation and their valour frustrated. If so, said Cheres, I believe our first exploit must be, to assist the Carthaginians in pushing on the siege of Siga ; because, that being taken, we need only leave a sufficient garrison there, and take the remainder of the Carthaginian troops with us to Carthage : These, with the thirty thousand soldiers, which, by your care, are now in the fleet, will make an army numerous enough. This project was approv'd by the council, and receiv'd with an unanimous applause in every vessel, whither the news of it was sent.

It is not (continued Cheres, to the council, which was yet assembled) but that another expedition, anterior to this, and nearer at hand, offers to my mind. The wind, which is favourable, will carry us in two days to the entrance into the Streights, and within sight of Tingi, king Anteus's capital. I don't propose to besiege that place in form ; that would be an undertaking, for which we have neither the troops nor the machines necessary, and
which

which, with all these succours, would be too tedious, and give the king time to take Carthage. The siege of Siga is not liable to that difficulty, because it is already very far advanc'd ; and besides, the taking of that, will have the advantage of increasing our army considerably ; which, on the contrary, we must dismember, to leave a sufficient garrison in Tingi. I therefore confine myself, with respect to this last place, to offer it in our passage, and only during one night, some insult, which may vex Anteus, and abate the confidence with which he besieges the capital of the Carthaginian empire. But to attempt this enterprize with prudence, it will be good for us to have some idea of the inside of this city, and of the avenues by which we may more easily surprize it. I have already heard, that the Phœnicians lately arriv'd at Banasa, whose vessels have join'd our fleet, pass'd some months at Tingi, to vend their merchandizes. If the commanders of them, who are here present, will give us an account of what they have observ'd during their sojourn there ; we will consult together, if any thing in the nature of what I have been proposing can be undertaken.

THE chief of these captains immediately answer'd ; That having been at Tingi, at the time they receiv'd the first news of the siege

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of Siga, they observ'd, that the governor dispos'd all his people into order and form; that he even immediately caus'd all their vessels to be visited; which having found only equipp'd as usual, they let them lie as they were: but that they became very remiss, from the time they knew the suspension of the siege of Siga, and that Anteus advancing daily, they were at last, from a remissness, fall'n into a dissoluteness; and since they had receiv'd the news of the advantages obtain'd at the battle of Tubusuptus, and especially of the siege of Carthage, which the king had undertaken in person, they had appointed nocturnal festivals; during which, the whole great square before the palace was illuminated, and nothing but dancing and rejoycings were seen on every side: That the young prince, whose name was Tygeus, about twelve years of age, was brought thither every evening, upon an high and broad theatre, on the outside of the palace, where he sup'd alone: That nobody attended him but his two governors, who had the care of his education, and the officers of his table, with whom they afterwards suffer'd him to divert himself 'till midnight: That they all went without swords, as in time of peace; but that about twenty of the guards, slightly arm'd, surrounded the foot of the theatre: That the two governors of young Tygeus, con-

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trary to ancient custom, made all the people, that were below, prostrate themselves, at his coming, and at his going away : That they had, more than once, heard one or other of these two governors say to the prince ; My lord ! you see here a small part of the king your father's subjects ; you will, soon or late, be their masters, and you may at pleasure dispose of their estates and lives : Let your countenance and carriage inspire them in time with that respect which is your due : Appear always with a fierce aspect, and accustom yourself to speak in the tone of a king. My lord ! (added the other) you will not only be king, but, after the example of the great Anteus your father, you will be a conqueror and subduer of nations : Your bare name must carry terror with it to the most distant people, and their fugitive kings must abandon them successively to your power : Your first chastisements of those who dare resist you, must open a way for you to the uttermost extremity of the earth. As a fruit of these instructions, the young prince hasten'd to his sports. I should have been tir'd myself, as well as he, (said Cheres) with such discourses, which only tend to the pageantry of government, or to convert it into the terror of mankind. One would think that those people were bringing-up a state-horse, or a bird of prey, and not a man : How-

ever, (continu'd he) I already perceive, in these circumstances, a very favourable opportunity for the most noble attempt we could wish; I mean, to seize the young prince in the midst of these rejoycings, which are, probably, yet continu'd. But it were to be wish'd, that the persons we shall want for this exploit, and of whom, in my opinion, there need be no great number, might land in some road on this side the city, and enter into it with less noise than they can do by the way of the haven. Another captain answer'd, That he knew one, from whence several roads led to the avenue of that gate, which was call'd the southern gate, and which was about half a league from the city; and likewise, that this gate was not shut, but left open for the inhabitants of the country to go in and out in crouds, during the whole night, since the establishment of these feasts. This is all I desire, (said Cheres): To morrow, at the close of the evening, fifty of our men, which our boats shall set on shore, shall take the different roads which lead to this gate; they shall endeavour to be undiscover'd among the inhabitants of the country; and, at their arrival, they shall place themselves round about the prince's theatre, as near as possible, not to be taken notice of. We must then employ some of our people for this exploit, (interrupted another captain of the Phoeni-

Phœnicians) who have sojourn'd at Tingi ; they alone know the city, and the avenues to it ; and besides, they must be cloath'd like the Tingitan peasants, and have no arms, to outward appearance. We shall find in our vessels wherewithal to furnish these habits for about fifty persons ; and I shall undertake, if desir'd, to conduct them. We shall all, (answer'd his brethren) dispute this honour with you. Dear companions, (reply'd Cheres) to agree this matter, you will allow me to be leader in the enterprize I propose. I myself will seize the person of the young prince. I shall only take those two of you, who by chance have now spoken first, for my guides : They shan't leave me ; and shall have, as well as their fifty soldiers, their swords hid under their short gowns, such as I think all the peasants thereabouts wear : I will be the only one without arms, lest they should be a hindrance in what I design.

BUT as in most surprizes, it is easier to make the onset, than to retire ; because the first may be done by stealth, but the latter can hardly be effected but in the tumult : at our return, I think it is just, that the whole fleet should assist us. Our pilots, who know this coast, have already told me, that the passage into the harbour of Tingi is broad enough for ten vessels to enter abreast. My
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opinion is, that when we are landed in the road, ten of our vessels, of middling bulk, enter three hours afterwards, with help of their oars. The rest of the fleet may stay without, to support those who enter, if there should be occasion. The lights which are at the two ends of the moles will guide those enemies, whom the Tingitanes don't think so near. These vessels being enter'd, must immediately throw, on the right and on the left, combustible matters, which you know the use of, on the barks they shall find in the haven. For I hear Anteus has no naval force : He did not think it necessary on the ocean which faces Tingi, and which indeed has never yet seen any fleet so formidable as ours : but he is as little provided with a fleet in the Mediterranean, tho' engag'd in a war against a maritime empire, such as that of Carthage. The reason of it is, without doubt, this ; because, thinking to carry on this war by treason, he has neglected taking all his advantages : but I dare hope, that the want of this caution, will be the cause of his ruin ; and that, as we are masters of the sea, we shall soon be so of the land too. With respect to our present design, the first alarm you raise in the port will necessarily draw all the citizens thither : That shall be signal for us in the square. Our people shall draw their swords from under their gowns the moment

moment they see me set foot on the first step of the theatre. My two guides alone shall follow me with sword in hand, to keep off, or dispatch the governors and domestick officers, who, without doubt, will endeavour to carry off the young prince to the palace. I propose to seize him out of their hands, while our fifty soldiers defend us against the guards, and those who may join them, and likewise hinder them from coming to attack us on the theatre. For the fleet, the first vessel which can reach the shore, must with all expedition land as many men as may be necessary to make two strong lines from the haven to us on the square. They must defeat and sacrifice all they meet in this space, without turning aside, or going farther. Between these lines I propose to return, running with the young prince in my arms, and follow'd by our fifty disguised soldiers, to the ship which is to receive us : but whether this passage be long, or no, I am not inform'd. No, my lord, (said another captain) it is only one strait and pretty broad street of about an hundred paces : But (added this captain, who had not yet had the time perfectly to know Cheres) by this means we shall be master of the city and port ; Why should we not keep them ? or, if we don't care to leave any of our troops there, it is in our power to put all the inhabitants of Tingi to
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the sword, or to destroy them by fire, before we reimbark. No, (said Cheres) it is not my design to keep the city, for the reason I before mention'd, and which you now observe. Nor are we sure but the Tingitan troops, the number of whom we have no knowledge of, may soon join, and drive away our garrison. Besides, our only aim being to relieve Carthage, it is only with that intent I have propos'd this attempt of seizing young Tygeus. Conquerors by profession care little for their natural subjects. A foreign kingdom is more acceptable to them than their own; and I know that Anteus in particular would willingly sit down with the loss of Tingi, to take Carthage: but I am very much mistaken, if the loss of his son and only successor don't mortify his pride, shake his hopes, and even confound his undertaking. And for destroying the inhabitants of Tingi by sword or fire, I consent yet less to that. Don't let us appear to the nations on the coasts of the Mediterranean, and especially to the inhabitants of the three Mauritanias, as murderers or incendiaries. We will be the deliverers of the Carthaginians your allies, who are assaulted contrary to reason and honour. Let us support the justice of our cause by that of our proceedings. Let us shew our enemies, upon every occasion, that we shed no more blood than what is necessary for
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our general design ; the power of executing which, in some measure, obliges us to it. In short, let our example teach them, in time, to disapprove of their king's conduct ; rather than indiscreetly to wish him success, which can never tend otherwise than to their damage.

AFTER the officers had conferr'd some time together upon all Cheres had propos'd, the eldest answer'd ; That under any other commander but him, the council should hardly have consented to an exploit so perilous for his person ; but that having been witness of the happy success of all his projects, they could not do better, than to put an entire trust in his conduct, but more particularly in the favour with which the gods had 'till then rewarded the uprightness and candour of his intentions.

THEY therefore employ'd all the time that remain'd 'till the next evening to prepare and concert an action, the success of which depended intirely upon a very perfect intelligence with one another. Cheres, speaking in private to the two captains he had chosen for his guides, told them the desire he should have of bringing away the two governors too ; provided, however, it were in no-wise an obstacle to their main point. Let us, above all things, (said he) take

take care, not to wound the prince ; for I confess I had rather our design should miscarry, than see a project of war end in the wounding a child. Let us endeavour to avoid the same with the two governors ; which will be easy, if they are without arms ; however, if one or both of them should happen to be wounded, let us leave them or him there. The two captains answer'd almost at the same time ; It will then be necessary for us to take four of our disguis'd soldiers with us on the theatre, who may back us in seizing the governors, while we throw away our swords, if it be necessary. Those who are below will be sufficient to defend us. These (said Cheres) are all the measures we can take beforehand : what remains, opportunity will teach us. Going next to all those who were to be employ'd in this expedition, he told them every one, That they must arm themselves with a steady resolution in the execution of what was order'd them, and keep always in an equal presence of mind, that they might not be diverted from it : That thereby alone they could preserve, to the conclusion of it, that superiority which the assault would give them ; and that, for his part, without arms, as he was resolv'd to be, he did not doubt but he should return safe and sound to the fleet again. This was not the least concern which inspir'd the valour and vigilancy

vigilancy of all those who were to serve him, in their different stations, from the square to the haven. In a word, the plan of this design, so as I have related it, was so punctually observ'd, that we have, by reciting that, given before-hand a relation of the execution of it.

I shall only add, that at the first alarm, which was perceiv'd from the haven, all the citizens fled the other way. Numbers of people were stifled in pressing through the gates which led to the country. The guards of the haven, who were intermix'd with the croud in the square, and already drunk, let the Phœnicians, who were well arm'd, come to the foot of the scaffolding without opposition. They hardly found thirty men to defeat in their way ; because the governor, who was giving a great entertainment in the castle, had not time to form a defensive body. Cheres, who did not let the young prince be out of his sight, saw all the domesticks jump at once from the top of the theatre, and retire under the gate of the palace. The two governors, who could not carry off the prince so suddenly, had taken him between them, to lead him down the steps, when they found themselves surrounded and seiz'd by the six men that had follow'd Cheres, who in the very moment ascended the theatre with a wonder-

wonderful dexterity. Those who remain'd below were more than sufficient to kill the twenty guards, whose death made all those fly who came in confusion to their assistance. During this tumult, which was only among the citizens, the soldiers of the fleet had carry'd their lines on each side to the square. Then Cheres, disingaging the young prince from amidst his governors, and the six men who surrounded them, took him in his arms; and this generous ravisher carry'd off his prey, for a design yet more heroick than what he then manifested. He was follow'd by the two governors prisoners, who did not so much as attempt to fly, seeing on each side of them a double row of soldiers arm'd, and behind them about fifty pretended peasants, with sword in hand, who spurr'd them on. They had order'd matters so prudently, and the burning barks yet continu'd to give so much light, that all was reimbarc'd in less than half an hour. The ten vessels which came to receive them, got out of the harbour as happily as they came in.

As soon as they were at sea, Cheres left the vessel, into which he had enter'd by meer hazard, and went into the admiral, which was his, and which was the first without the moles. He carry'd the young prince and his two governors with him; and

and having them all three before him, he said ; My lord ! the circumstances of a war, begun by the king your father, have oblig'd us to seize your person. You will find here all the conveniencies and all the satisfaction which could be procur'd you in a vessel of your own ; and you shall have a better education than you had in your own palace. As for you, the ancient governors of the prince, you have not been taken as sages, but as men of valour ; your conduct with respect to your prince was bad : but you are commendable, in that he was taken between you, and that we could not take him, but by taking you too. You shall be present at all the instructions which the priests of Egypt, his new masters, will give him ; but it shall be as scholars : and you are absolutely forbidden speaking to him in private, 'till it appear that you yourselves are better'd by the lessons given him in your presence. He next shew'd the prince the two servants that were to attend him, and of whom he was to ask what he might want. The most requisite at that time was to let him repose. The two governors were carry'd together into one cabin, at a pretty distance from that destin'd for the prince.

THE next day, as soon as they were pass'd the Streights, Cheres desir'd two of

the Egyptian priests who were in his company, to make the time of Tygeus's captivity advantageous to him. They accepted of this function with a great deal of joy and divided between them the care of his behaviour, and his studies; and they even engag'd some of their comrades to instruct him, at certain hours of the day, in their particular sciences, to make his time the more agreeable. Cheres took the charge himself as much as possible, of his recreations. By all this care, he soon got the love of the young prince, to such a degree, that he had no greater joy, than to see the author of his imprisonment; and he call'd him, with greater tenderness, his master, than ever he had call'd his father. His governors themselves, who in reality were the two most rational men of their country, soon perceiv'd the excellency of the Egyptian customs and they of themselves retracted the discourses they us'd to hold before they were acquainted with it. The noblest minds are capable of being hurry'd away by a torrent of those reigning opinions which are authorized by the lustre of some transient success; but as soon as the truth appears, they embrace it with joy; whereas vulgar souls keep their prejudices 'till a more enlighten'd generation and become excellent, even by the same reason of custom, which before had rang'd them among the most common of mankind.

THIS fleet arriv'd in a short time before Siga. As soon as they had made themselves known to the besiegers, they utter'd thousands of joyful acclamations, which abated the courage of the garrison, more than the most violent battery would have weaken'd their walls. But what discourag'd yet more the governor and the officers employ'd in the defence of the place, was, that from that time, they perceiv'd the citizens, who had long had a great esteem and veneration for Cheres, wish'd in some manner that they might fall into his hands. The fear of the former, and the hopes of the latter, were soon increas'd, by the great number, fine order, and good condition of the troops, which, from the top of their walls, they saw standing out of every vessel. Cheres agreed with the Carthaginian general to send that very day a herald to the general: He let him know, that he had the young prince in his power, and at the same time inform'd him how he was treated by him. They offer'd him, in the name of Cheres, and the general, proposals which were honourable for the garrison, and advantageous to the citizens; and exhorted him to prevent, by prudent surrender, the miseries which would attend a forc'd and infallible reduction. The governor answer'd; That he would immediately give an account to the

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king his master, of what they had signify'd to him ; but that, in expectation of his commands, he would defend himself in proportion to their assaults ; the measure of which depended upon Cheres, and the besiegers, and not on him.

ACCORDINGLY the governor sent instantly a dispatch to Anteus, to inform him, not only of the message he had receiv'd from the herald, but of the new situation of affairs. He observ'd, that the besiegers had just receiv'd, by the Phœnician fleet, a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, but yet a much greater in the name of the famous Cheres, the commander of it. He added, that this conqueror gain'd a high esteem, not by the terror of slaughter, but, which was by far more dangerous by the reputation of his wisdom and virtues. That, in reality, the inhabitants of Siga did not conceal the inclination they had for him. That the cares it was known he had of the person and even of the education of prince Tygeus, his captive, made them hope all manner of felicity under such a conqueror. That the garrison, however, seem'd always to continue in the same obedience, and to have the same zeal for their king. But that it wanted immediate support against the number of troops, and especially

especially against the publick esteem which accompany'd Cheres.

CHERES, however, by a generosity which the besieg'd did not expect, suspended all attacks during the twelve days which he imagin'd the governor must wait for an answer from Anteus. But this suspension was very different from the unfortunate truce which Giskon had granted six months before to this king when he was in Siga: for he employ'd the whole time in raising enormous machines round about the city. Not to mention the towers of wood, they consisted in ballista's, catapulta's, and battering rams, the models of which he remember'd to have seen in the galleries at Memphis, and at the siege of Coptos. His design was to have such a number that the city might not resist the first assault, when they were play'd together. As the conjunction of the two armies furnish'd him with a great number of men, he employ'd one part of them to ward off the flights of arrows which the enemy endeavour'd to pester their workmen with in the day-time, and the other part in repulsing the attempts they sometimes made of destroying their works in the night. The vigilancy of the two chiefs, the valour of the troops, as well the Carthaginians as the Phœnicians, the zeal even of the islanders of Taprobane, who

took part in their interest and in their works, went so far, that in the twelve days they never begun the same machine twice, and the besieged lost, at least, as many men in opposing them, as the besiegers in finishing them.

At the expiration of that term the governor receiv'd an answer from the king. Anteus had receiv'd an account, before his letter, of the accident at Tingi, because he had establish'd messengers, much sooner, but like to those of the Persians, in the Tingitanian and two other Mauritanias, from the time he had had an intelligence with their kings. He was likewise inform'd, before the senate of Carthage, of the unexpected succour which providence had sent this oppress'd republick, tho' Cheres had sent away his advice-boats early, to inform them of it. But the uncertainty of the seas is the cause that advices go sometimes quicker and sometimes slower by this way than by messengers. Anteus, upon hearing of the loss of his son, fell into a fury, in which paternal affection had less part than shame for the insult which had been offer'd him. According to the custom of the ambitious, when their treacheries fail of success, he went from dissimulation to cruelty ; or rather, he began to combine one with the other. He propos'd to put to death, by different

rent degrees of torment, as well all the prince's officers as the whole garrison of Tingi. He even gave a commission to the new governor, whom he sent thither, to perform it at a proper time. But as he had no other way of replacing this garrison, but by a detachment of those troops which besieg'd Carthage, he was contented at that time, against his will, with an example which could not be look'd upon as unjust. It was to give the new governor an order in writing, to execute his predecessor in the very place of the square from whence the prince had been carry'd away. As soon as he had receiv'd the letter from the governor of Siga, he answer'd him in the margin of it; That he had occasion of his whole army before Carthage, and that the taking of this capital was of more consequence to him than the preservation of one of his own cities. That he charg'd him, however, as an officer in whom he could put trust, to persuade the garrison that they would immediately receive succours from him: that he would find in the same packet a letter wrote with his own hand, importing the same, which he should publish; that by means of this expectation he should keep the enemy before this place as long as possible: but that when he found himself so streighten'd that he could not hold out above a day or two, he should shew his soldiers

a separate order, which he sent him, to put all the citizens of this disloyal and ill-affected city to the sword; that Cheres finding only dead men in it, might make no advantage of the affection they had for him. By the same orders he gave all their riches to the soldiers; and after having pillag'd them, he gave them leave to capitulate upon the most advantageous conditions they could get of the enemy. To conclude, he exhorted the governor, in his private letter, to escape, during the tumult, by the secret outlet he was acquainted with in Siga: that he knew the entrance into this way was under the palace, and would carry him to near a league from the city, beyond the besiegers lines. He assur'd him, in short, that upon his arrival from thence into his camp before Carthage, there was no favour he might not hope from his king.

THESE orders made the governor tremble. He perceiv'd the king had no affection either for his subjects or soldiers; and that he had no better fate to hope for himself. The most favourable construction he could put upon them, was, that change of fortune began to make Anteus disorder'd in mind. He resolv'd to conceal his private letter and the king's secret order from every body, without exception, 'till he had consulted privately with himself, and with him-
self

self alone. With this design he kept them both about him : but he publish'd the promise of succours, though he knew it to be false ; because it serv'd to inspire his garrison with a courage, of which it stood in greater need than if it had been true. Half an hour afterwards the besiegers workmen found an arrow, among a great many others, which were frequently shot at them, under the feathers of which they perceiv'd a note, which they carry'd to Cheres, who was not far off. Upon it he found these words, *Succours very quickly*. To prevent this, perceiving the governor sent him no message, he concluded with the Carthaginian officer, to undertake immediately the general assault which he had prepar'd for this twelfth day. The play of the batteries was so universal and so terrible, and the soldiers of both armies descended from their towers into the ramparts, and mounted the breaches with so much fervency and perseverance, that before the combat had lasted full two hours the rest of the garrison beat on every side a signal of surrender. Cheres and the Carthaginian general, who foresaw this event, put an immediate stop to the slaughter ; and promis'd their soldiers a more noble and surer reward than that of pillaging the city. They soon heard that the reason of this so sudden surrender was, because their governor had been grievously wounded, and carry'd

ry'd into the publick square senseless, and almost lifeless. Cheres order'd him to be carry'd on a litter out of the town into his tent; and to be follow'd by the whole garrison as prisoners, sufficiently guarded, marching in order after their captain, and he himself brought up the rear. In the mean time the general settled a Carthaginian garrison in Siga of six thousand men, who sav'd the citizens, without their knowledge, from the peril they were in from the Tingtian garrison.

DURING this, Cheres took particular care of the governor. Having sent for the chief physicians of the fleet, he caus'd him to be undress'd in his presence: but perceiving an unseal'd packet under his tunick, he laid hold of it, and, speaking aloud, said, That was, without doubt, the letter by which Anteus had promis'd succours to Siga. Judging, however, by the feeling, that it contain'd more than one piece, he put it carefully under his armour. Taking afterwards an opportunity of every one being attentive at viewing the general's wound, which the physicians hop'd was not mortal, Cheres went for a moment into an adjoining tent, where he found no body. After having read his papers cursorily over, he took away those two, the secrecy of which the author of them himself had recommended:

mended: and he afterwards communicated to the general, and every one else, the letter which was publish'd at Siga, which they believ'd was alone in the packet he had taken.

As the governor was not yet sensible, Cheres went himself to speak with the officers of the garrison, who waited without, surrounded by the victorious troops. He told them, that his first design was to give them, after their being taken, a capitulation as honourable as that he had offer'd them the first day of his arrival; and consequently to restore them to themselves and their king, under the bare condition of not serving at the siege of Carthage. But that since they had been in his camp he had consider'd, that Anteus would certainly reproach them for having surrender'd at the first assault of the two armies, tho' invincible. That therefore he believ'd he should save both them and the garrison, by making use of his right, and keeping them all prisoners of war. That they would even in time learn whether their king was more to be depended on, and sincerer with regard to his own subjects and soldiers, than in respect to his enemies. At these words a murmuring was heard among all the soldiers of the garrison, which was soon chang'd into loud acclamations of, Long live Cheres,
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we are at his service ! This hero had yet more satisfaction to see their officers represent to these deserters the honour and duty with which they were bound to their king : but their remonstrances were in vain : therefore, after some time, Cheres said to the soldiers ; Comrades, I will take you, but it is in the name of the general, who will distribute you among his troops. Those who are conquer'd can't always devote themselves to whom they will ; and you belong, of right, to the Carthaginians. Besides, the two nations of the fleet which I command, not making war on their own account, have no occasion for you. But he told their officers, that their fidelity was not lost with him ; and that if the gods favour'd his designs, he would render it more happy than it had hitherto been. In the mean time, continued he, you are alone detain'd for your own interest, and that only upon your parole.

THE Carthaginian general, on his side, had order'd the palace, in which king Anteus had resided in the city, to be open'd for him. He did not find the officer, who had the care of it, so nice and difficult as Cheres had found those of the garrison. This officer, or steward of the palace, had been extremely diffident of the king, since he had suffer'd the princess to escape with Giscon,

Gifcon, tho' he did not yet know if they went away together, and whether he had carry'd her off. Tho' the king had order'd him to conceal this evasion, which, however, was no more a secret, and he imagin'd that he was not so much concern'd for the loss of his daughter, as for that of his son : nevertheless, as both join'd together, expos'd him to the derision of his enemies, he fear'd he should have but a poor requital from the king, whose treachery he better knew, than the officers of war, who had not been so much his confidants as he ; he therefore went of himself to meet the general, and offer'd himself to him and his nation, as a servant and subject as faithful as he could have been by birth. The general desiring to see all the apartments, in order to take possession of them, the steward whisper'd him, That there were private retirements in this palace, which he would be long in discovering, without a guide who was perfectly acquainted with them ; and that, to give him a proof of his new fidelity, he would immediately conduct him to the place where the money was deposited, which the king had left to carry on the expences of the siege. The general answer'd him ; That, first of all, he accepted of the offer he made of his person, and that he would find all manner of safety and satisfaction with the Carthaginians : That he was besides oblig'd to him for shortening

shortening his search after a treasure, which conquerors, tho' it was absolutely their right, could not always obtain a discovery of from the conquered ; but that he would take the guards he had in his retinue with him, because he had agreed with the commander Cheres, that they would distribute this same money, if it was found, among the besiegers, to indemnify them for the pillage of the citizens, which the greedy soldier expected as his due, after a storm. These guards were of service to raise a stone, which was not to be distinguish'd from others in the pavement of a certain apartment, to which the steward had the key. This stone shew'd, under a partition, which was remov'd without any noise, a ledge which open'd a way to a sort of cave underneath, in which was a quantity of gold that would have been sufficient for six months longer, if expences alone would do for the defence of a place.

THE Carthaginian general propos'd to distribute this gold, by so much a head, to all the soldiers of each army : but the officers of the auxiliaries, full of the generosity of their commander, who was silent on this head, refus'd, in the name of all the troops, their share in the distribution. They represented, that they were not come to the succour of the Carthaginians, to partake of their

their possessions or gains ; and that, on such terms, their allies would be little better to them than their enemies : That twelve days labour, and one single attack, in which they had been employ'd, were not to be compar'd to the fatigues of six months : and the reiterated actions which the chief army had gone through, and by which they had extremely facilitated the success of that which they had now been concern'd in together : That, to conclude, the riches they had brought from their discoveries, had plac'd them in such circumstances, that they could very well dispense with partaking of that money, which must be very precious to a republick engag'd in war. The general, who had not the same reason to be silent as Cheres, reply'd, in the name of the Carthaginian army, 'That it would be unjust for allies to engage, at their own expences, in quarrels they were no way concern'd in ; and that they were too happy, to give them a share of the booty which they assisted in taking from the enemy : That the labours of a few days, and the single attack, to which such powerful foreigners had rather led than accompany'd them, sav'd them perhaps more than six months, as well labours as combats ; but that, to conclude, they however submitted to the last reason they had alledg'd : That they gave way with pleasure to the prosperity

prosperity of the Phœnicians and islanders of Taprobane; and that they consented, 'till the total deliverance of their empire, to receive more than one favour, and to have all manner of obligations to them. Thus the matter was decided; and by an issue not very common, their general conclusion was, to part nothing in matters of gain.

CHERES returning to the governor, found he had recover'd the use of his speech. After having congratulated him on that account, and promis'd him, in the name of the Carthaginians, all the respect his prudence and valour deserv'd, he waited with patience 'till all unnecessary attendants were retir'd, at the request of the physicians; at last he desir'd them likewise, without any affectation, to go and refresh themselves in their tent, while he would look after the patient. Being at length left alone with him, he told him; That seeing himself in the tent and bed of his conqueror, he might imagine that they had taken possession of the papers he had about him: but (continu'd he) I presume to flatter myself, it will be a pleasure to you, when I tell you, that I am the only person in the world who knows any thing of the two pieces you conceal'd, or even that there were any such. I shan't, however, restore them to you, nor
have

have I yet determin'd what use I shall make of them : but you may be assur'd, on the word I give you, I will never use them to your disadvantage, nor otherwise than to your honour. I don't propose to a person like you, to abandon his master's cause, as perfidious and as barbarous as he may be. My general maxim, with regard to the subjects of foreign powers, is even to receive every one, but to seduce none. But besides the security, in which you are going to be at Siga, as you are not in a condition to follow the fleet, which will depart in two days, I don't despair of rendering you soon happy myself, without however having any dependance on the Carthaginians or the Phœnicians, or on me ; in a word, without making you change your country. I can't give you any farther account of a project which as yet is but imaginary ; but you may already hereby perceive what esteem and friendship I bear for the worthy servants of a master who is not so.

THE governor began his acknowledgments ; which would have been long, if he had express'd the fulness of his heart. Cheres, not to give him the dissatisfaction of stifling entirely his testimonies of thanks, suffer'd him to say, That the happiest day of his life, was that in which his defeat, his being wounded, and taken prisoner,

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had procur'd him the compassion of the only true hero who perhaps had ever been. Cheres stopp'd him there, by telling him His condition would not allow of his talking longer. The physicians soon return'd and he, for his part, went to lie that night on board his vessel, whither, since his arrival, he had been but once every day, to see young Tygeus, who had not landed.

THE next forenoon Cheres order'd the wounded governor to be convey'd into the city, and he himself follow'd him. He recommended him with a great deal of affection to the new governor, whom the general had nam'd, according to the disposition which the senate had sent him before hand. He added, That this prisoner was very necessary person for the settlement of the future peace. The general then left the city with Cheres, not to return again. He had receiv'd orders long before, to return to Carthage immediately after the surrender of Siga, with sixty vessels of the hundred which had been sent thither; and thirty thousand men, if he could, of the sixty thousand with which he had begun the siege. He had then lost about ten thousand men, and by adding the six thousand for the garrison, according to this account, there could remain only fourteen thousand men to his camp in the country round about Siga.

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They employ'd that day in imbarcking the troops ; not forgetting the garrison which had surrender'd, and was already distributed among them. The officers who were prisoners were put on board of the general's vessel, and admitted to his table, by the advice of Cheres ; contrary to the custom of those days, and especially of Anteus, who, according to the practice of the barbarians, kept his prisoners of war in irons. The general likewise took with him the steward of the palace and his family, whom he look'd upon as a Carthaginian family. Cheres approv'd his conduct ; but he told him privately, That when the steward was receiv'd at Carthage as a citizen, and even provided with whatever was necessary for an honest subsistence, he ought to take care how he intrusted any publick office to a deserter. Cheres's fleet, which did not exceed forty vessels, was not so numerous as that of the Carthaginians, who carry'd back sixty : but it made a more beautiful appearance ; so that the greater seem'd only to be the retinue or tenders upon the less : All these vessels departed from the port of Siga the following day, and made sail together towards Carthage.

THIS fleet, tho' it had not sustain'd any great tempests, was extremely retarded by the winds, which were always contrary ;

and they were more than a month on a passage which was often perform'd in less than a week. During this interval, Giscon, who had obtain'd thirty thousand men of the Capsians, was marching on the banks of the Bragada, a noted river, the mouth of which is between Utica and Carthage. Anteus had no certain news of this succour, 'till he heard it was arriv'd at Membressa, a little town on this river, about fourteen or fifteen leagues distant to the southward from the capital he was besieging. He then thought it necessary to make a considerable detachment of his troops, to secure a victory which he look'd upon as of great consequence, under the present circumstances of his affairs: but as they had not discover'd the whole number of the Capsians, he believ'd he had sent double their number when he detach'd thirty thousand men against them. He appointed one of the most experienc'd of his captains to command them; but he remain'd himself, with the rest of his army, which was yet numerous, before Carthage, that it might not be said that any thing could make him desist from his main design. as besides, he expected every day to see the victorious fleet arrive from Siga; and he was personally exasperated against Cheres, who had carry'd away, and yet detain'd his son: he reserv'd his own person to oppose this fatal enemy, a comparison with whom degraded

graded him in the minds of men, and who depriv'd him of that advantage of publick prepossession, so necessary to the boldness of conquerors. Giscon's troops, which had march'd but slowly, and always in countries belonging to the Capfans, or to the Carthaginians, were much fresher at their arrival than those of Anteus. It is true, the latter had resided in the country almost six months: but it was before the ramparts, which they had frequently been oblig'd to attack, and from whence they had been almost every night expos'd to the sallies, which had more than once put the besiegers upon the defensive.

GISCON having had intelligence at Membressa, that the enemy was advancing to meet him, cross'd over to the east of the river, opposite to the town, but on the same side as Carthage; he seem'd, by that, to give the enemy the advantage, by saving them the trouble of crossing the river to come to him: but he had discover'd a singular advantage by incamping in that place. We must observe, that to go from Carthage to Capfa, the high-road was on the east of the river to Membressa; but that there the way was stopp'd by mountains which were extremely barren, or, to speak more properly, by steep rocks; so that a little before

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fore passengers met with this obstacle, they pass'd a bridge which led to the town, from whence they continu'd their way, at least for some days journey, on the western banks of the river. It was in this sort of bottom or inclosure, on the other side of Membressa, where Giscon rang'd fifteen thousand Capfans in order of battle, early in the morning the day he expected the arrival of the enemy: These were all the men he had regularly arm'd; and indeed all, who having march'd in a body, could be discover'd, and of whom Anteus's spies could give him an account. It is likewise necessary to observe, that this bottom or inclosure, which extended farther than the passage to the bridge by half a league, was about two hundred paces broad in its whole depth, and that this breadth was border'd on one side by the banks of the river, and on the other by an unequal wall of rocks, as high, and almost as perpendicular as those at the end of it. The Tingitan general, who had orders to attack the enemy, coming thither about the middle of the forenoon, had no great trouble to inspire his troops with a contempt of an enemy, to whom they believ'd they were double in number: He even rally'd Giscon at a distance, for having depriv'd himself of all other retreat but that of throwing himself into the river, when
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he should find his army streighten'd, as it would soon be. Giscon gave him no other answer but the signal for battle. His soldiers, who at first advanc'd to enter into action, had orders to retreat by degrees to a certain line, to give the Tingitan army room to come intirely into the bottom, beyond the passage to the bridge, and the place where the rocks began. Their general had already given orders for them to fight hand to hand, and only to make use of their swords or javelins against an enemy who were beset. The combat was carry'd on in this manner for some time on both sides, when the Tingitans were surpriz'd by a frightful number of enormous stones, which came tumbling down upon them on the side of the wall, and which the inequalities they met with in their fall, made to rebound to a great distance among their ranks. The first tumult which this surprize caus'd, made them drive those of their comrades, who were nearest the banks, into the river; and thus their general's rally against Giscon fell on themselves. That which caus'd a yet greater admiration amongst them was, that, lifting up their eyes to find out the origin of this annoying attack, they, for a long while, could observe no one who put these terrible masses, which continued to roll down upon them, into motion. At last,

however, they perceiv'd some heads of men, who began another exercise with them, as soon as they observ'd their first had driven the Tingitans too far from the foot of the rocks. This natural wall, along which, in all appearance, a Roe-buck would hardly have clamber'd, was in a moment cover'd with a vast number of expert archers, who, by jumping from one point to another, never miss'd, not only the man they aim'd at, but that part of his body which they pitch'd upon. Upon the top of the wall at the end, appear'd other archers, who knew how to direct their arrows over the heads of their own people, to reach those of the Tingitans. The latter began then to waver ; and the Capsans, who were arm'd from head to foot, attacking them immediately body for body, they began to fight pell-mell. The archers on the wall did not, however, discontinue their exercise ; they made no difficulty of shooting at a Tingitan who was engag'd with a Capsan, being very well assur'd their arrows would not hit wrong : And their comrades below were as well assur'd of their expertness. They mix'd themselves with the enemy, and pursu'd every advantage without being any-ways apprehensive on that account ; being very well satisfy'd that they would sufficiently distinguish them, and that the
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hands of their comrades were as sure as their aims *. The Tingitans gave way at last, and took their flight towards Carthage. Their general thought it very well to get fourteen or fifteen thousand men together of the thirty he had brought along with him: but the Carthaginian peasants, who were fled, at the march of this army towards Membressa, encourag'd at its return, by the victory Giscon had obtain'd over it, were gather'd together in the high-roads. Tho' they had no arms but instruments of husbandry, they strangely harass'd these vanquish'd troops, who march'd in a precipitate manner, and destroy'd yet a great number of their men. Giscon follow'd them close, hoping to gain a farther advantage of the enemy, and to get into Carthage, under favour of the discouragement which this spectacle would necessarily put the besiegers army into.

ANTEUS, who had plac'd himself at the end of the road by which these fugitives were to return; instead of giving ear to the justification their general had prepar'd, caus'd

* To justify what is here said of the Capsians, it is enough to refer our readers to the learned commentary of the R. F. Calmet on the Bible; where, speaking of the expertness of the Gibeonites, of whom mention is made in the 20th chapter of Judges, he relates divers curious facts, which it would be unnecessary to repeat here.

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him to be strangled as soon as he arriv'd; and afterwards, ordering this miserable remainder of vanquish'd soldiers to be decimated, he inspir'd his own army with that terror which began to be a relief to his enemies. He even withdrew of his own accord the quarters he had plac'd before that gate of Carthage which fac'd Capsa, or the south, and which, without this precaution, would have been between the conqueror who was coming, and the besieged whose courage was considerably augmented by his arrival. He was sensible, that it would have been better for him to have assembled his whole army against him, than to suffer a succour of thirty thousand men to enter the city: but, as his ill fate would have it, the very same day they had discover'd the fleet from Siga, which might perhaps disembark in the very time of his engagement with Giscon, and by attacking him in the rear, might rout him in such manner, that he would never be able to recover himself: so, neglecting the inconvenience which was most pressing, for that which he esteem'd the most considerable, he kept all his troops to oppose the descent which he thought Cheres would attempt on the coasts of Carthage on this side Bagrada, and close to the plain which he was encamped upon before the walls of that city.

BUT

BUT Cheres, after having shewn his fleet in the road in a noble and formidable order, agreed with the general, That, to have time enough to refresh themselves, they would all land towards evening on the other side of the Bagrada, in the port of Utica, that maritime city, which the death of Cato has since render'd so renown'd, and which Anteus, who in this war had made no provision for the sea, nor its coasts, had not thought worth his securing. Thus it was that this king, losing himself in his own conjectures, fail'd in the important point of stopping or repulsing Giscon, to wait for an enemy who, however, did not come near him. Cheres, upon his arrival at Utica, was soon inform'd of the advantage of the battle of Membressa, and the return of Giscon to Carthage. It is impossible to express the joy it was to this hero, that the winds had detain'd him so long; and that Giscon, without standing in need of his succour, had so happily begun to repair his failings, to recover his honour, and even to regain the confidence and love of the Carthaginians. It was likewise upon this occasion that the senate, to satisfy the earnest demands of all the people, and the desire of their absent prince, pronounc'd a general pardon, without any exception, in favour of Giscon the conqueror.

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IN the mean time, the same senate, who alone exercis'd the sovereign authority in the absence of their prince, sent the next morning a solemn deputation to Cheres. They thank'd him for the service he had already done the repulick of his own accord, as well at Tingi as Siga. They added, that tho' Giscon had brought the Capfan succours, before he had in any-wise reckon'd upon the generous assistance of the two illustrious nations which compos'd his fleet, Giscon himself acknowledg'd, that the bare approach of this fleet had chang'd the fate of Carthage. That the report of it, which was come as far as Membressa, had encourag'd the Capfans in the battle they had gain'd: and that, in short, the arrival of this fleet having cast the enemy into a perplexity what course to take, was the real and only cause that the Capfans were enter'd into Carthage without opposition. They finish'd their speech by an intreaty they made to Cheres, that he would be general of the troops which kept the field, to the conclusion of this war, while Giscon should command in the city, and the general who came with him from Siga should remain commander of the Carthaginian fleet, without any power over that of Cheres.

CHERES answer'd the deputed senators, that he accepted of their offers in whatever
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was of service and advantage to the Carthaginians. But that as it was important for them to act in concert, and that they could not succeed in that but by a subordination, he took the liberty of proposing to them another scheme of titles. This was, to nominate Giscon generalissimo, residing in Carthage as the centre; which would not even displace the particular governor of Carthage. The general, who was return'd from Siga, might be general on land, because all his troops which were landed, were not to serve otherwise; and he, Cheres, would remain as he was, commander of the auxiliary fleet for the service of sea or land, as occasion might require. He added, that he did not doubt but the senate would have made this choice, were it not for the civility they were desirous of shewing to such a stranger as himself, and which he would not abuse. The deputed senators reply'd, That it was just as he had conjectur'd: But that the senate had decreed in the same meeting in which this matter was debated, that if the great care which they knew Cheres had in all places taken to leave every one his rank and function, should prevent his accepting a command which it was but just to offer him; those, from whom he would receive orders in outward shew, and for form's sake, should themselves be directed to take his advice as a law. Cheres had nothing more to answer, but that he
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would repair to Carthage in one of his vessels the same afternoon, to be more exactly inform'd of the intentions of the senate, and to put himself in a condition to act conformable to them.

THE deputies were hardly reimbarc'd, as news was brought to Cheres, that a frigate, just arriv'd at the port of Utica, had set on shore a young man of goodly stature, who begg'd the favour of a private audience. Cheres, having order'd him to be brought before him, was himself surpriz'd at the nobleness and sweetness of his physiognomy, and conceiv'd at the bare sight of him, a secret bent of friendship for him. The young man, seeing that those who had introduc'd him were retir'd so far as not to overhear them, said to Cheres; That he was descended from a considerable family in Egypt, and that his name was Pammus. I won't conceal from you, my lord, continu'd he, the real cause of my voyage, unknown even to my own parents. My family, with a design of marrying me, have cast their eyes on an excellent person, whose parents are not averse to the proposal. I am likewise so happy not to be refus'd by this charming damsel, who, however, is left to the liberty of her choice. But before the celebration of our nuptials, which, she pretends, our youth on both sides will allow us to defer for some time, she requires of me,

as a trial, which would be to my own advantage to come and improve myself by your instructions and example, in all the virtues both moral and military. She has confess'd to me, that she could passionately love a man who might have some resemblance to you. O! my lord, dare I presume to say it? as far as I can judge of myself, I perceive I have the unexpected happiness in my love to be something like you in the face. How fortunately for me will this incident alleviate the hardship of absence! I hope your goodness, by instructing me in all the duties of a man of my condition, and by sending me to every peril in your place, will soon give me some resemblance with the noble qualities of your mind: Yes, my lord, I flatter myself, that, before I depart from you, I shall become worthy of the object of my love, and, perhaps, of yourself.

CHERES, touch'd with the frankness of this young man, and surpriz'd at the same time, with some circumstances of his discourse, was contented, however, to acknowledge him, as an Egyptian, on his word, and believ'd it was more generous to abandon all other curiosity on his account. He told him, that after having endeavour'd to render so many services to strangers, he was overjoy'd that a young man of so distinguish'd a birth, as he seem'd to be, gave him the opportunity
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of serving an Egyptian ; and, perhaps, according to the degree of his birth, to many Egyptians in his person. He declar'd him, from that instant, his aid-de-camp. It is a function, continu'd he, which will give you an opportunity of seeing and speaking with me every hour. I won't refuse you either my advice or example, such as it may be : It will be for you to make a choice of following either. For a beginning, I will conduct you to the young prince Tygeus, whom we took at Tingi ; and whom, since the arrival of our fleet, I have lodg'd with me in the castle of Utica. I have entrusted his education to some Egyptian priests, who have been willing to accompany me in all my voyage. You shall be witness of the instructions which they give to a youth born to be a king ; and you will be pleas'd sometimes to supply my place with him at his recreations. I will afterwards carry you to Carthage, whither I am going to receive the instructions of the senate upon the present situation of affairs ; and during that time, you may take a view of the city. The circumstance of a siege, tho' troublesome to the inhabitants, is a desirable object for a young man who is learning the art of war, Cheres then led young Pammus into the apartment of prince Tygeus. After having presented them one to the other, he exhorted them to a mutal friendship : And the hours
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of his exercises being over, they all din'd together; they three, the two Egyptian priests, and the two former governors. The conversation, during the repast, was a little more gay, tho' not less profitable for the two young men than their lessons. Towards the middle of the afternoon, Cheres and Pammus embark'd for Carthage; where they were to remain that night. Having been both receiv'd by the chief of the senators; and the two apartments where they were to repose being shewn them, after the evening's repast, they rose about an hour afterwards, without informing one another of it: the young man to repair to the ramparts, where an alarm was given; and Cheres to go to the council of war, whither he was invited. Young Pammus, whom Cheres had already made known to Giscon and the governor, made this night the first trial of his arms, in an assault; which was but inconsiderable in itself, because Anteus only attempted it, to keep up some shew of a siege which he had already abandon'd in his mind. But the young Egyptian made it very considerable for him, by the great number of the enemy which he kill'd with his own hand, or threw down into the ditch. This first exploit brought him immediately into great esteem among the Carthaginians, who were witnesses of his courage; and the next day, with Cheres, who thought he had left him

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in his bed. In relation to Cheres, what happen'd in the council of war, held upon his arrival, was as follows :

THE plurality of opinions soon ran upon attacking Anteus on every side, in the almost certain hopes not only to make him raise the siege, but not to leave him a single man to carry back again with him into his own country. Cheres, speaking in his turn, said, That none could blame such an attempt as unjust; and that he himself would propose it to the Carthaginians, if he thought this slaughter more advantageous to them, than the glorious peace which it was in their power to give to all Africa. I won't alledge, said he, the remedies to which despair may drive an enemy who perceives himself clos'd in on every side; because it may be answer'd, that a too imminent danger is sometimes likewise the first cause of a discouragement and an overthrow. I only propose to offer you motives of honour and glory. The successes of war are not new; and the siege of Carthage won't be the first which has been rais'd. But your empire has an opportunity, at this time, of giving, perhaps, the first example of a pardon granted to aggressors who are humbled, and may be look'd upon as overcome. Prince Zoros has learnt, by his own experience, that a love of peace is not always sufficient to maintain it; and that a vigorous resistance

is sometimes the only source of it. We ought not, indeed, to resolve upon seeking a peace from an unjust and barbarous enemy who threatens us, unless in the utmost extremity ; and the august senate of Carthage has prov'd by its conduct, that this steadiness alone could preserve a state in all its splendor. But at this time, my lords, it will be glorious for you to offer a peace, because you will do it as masters, and upon what conditions you yourselves shall please. My thoughts are therefore to make Anteus consent to see all his troops disarm'd and imbark'd in your own vessels, which now lie empty in the haven of Utica: But, in other respects, provided with whatever is necessary for their subsistence, taken first from their ammunition and their money, which shall be imbark'd with them, and advanc'd afterwards by yourselves, in case of need, in the nature of a loan. Their king shall follow them in a separate vessel, having only with him four of his officers whom he shall choose, likewise disarm'd. He alone, out of respect to his person, shall be allow'd a sword by his side. However, not to deprive them of their arms in their own country, they shall be put into other vessels, which shall follow them; but in which there shall not be one single Tingitan. All this fleet, of which each vessel shall be commanded by a Carthaginian, shall disembark their troops successively and

in almost equal numbers at Gypsara, the first port of the Mauritania Tingitana beyond Sigae, which belongs to you, at Metagonium, Tumufida, Rufadis, and lastly at Tingi, whither the king shall be carry'd. There a sign shall be made to some barks in the port, to come and take first the arms, next the troops remaining from the other disimbarkations, and lastly the king: and your whole fleet, after having accompany'd him to the mouth of the harbour, shall return without going in. For the security of your payment, as well for the charge of this transport, as to indemnify the expences of the war, young Tygeus, whom I will retain till you are entirely satisfy'd, shall be your hostage. But I presume to advise you to moderate your demands, and not to diminish the price of your first generosity, by exposing innocent people, with whom you will then be in peace, to cruel impositions. You must allow, my lords, continu'd Cheres, that to send the Tingitans in this manner into their own country, will have a greater appearance of superiority, than you will obtain by cutting them in pieces. One part of the success of the latter will be attributed, with probability to fortune; whereas transporting them in the manner I propose, will be a pure effect of your will, and a very signal mark of your power. To conclude, as commodious as this will be for them, I depend alone upon the extremes they are driven to, to make them ac-

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cept of it: But, in case of a refusal, my design is to force them to it. They shall be told, that the passage thro' your territories can't but be burdensome and dangerous to both sides; and that therefore they have no other way for their return but what you offer them. If pride shou'd excite Anteus to reject this proposal, I will immediately follow your advice; and in the battle you will then give, I hope to be of service to you both with my troops and person. The council submitted, after some difficulty, to the intentions of Cheres. They gave him full power to treat with Anteus, upon the footing he had propos'd; and only insisted upon this affair being brought to a conclusion within three days. Whereupon he return'd with Pammus to Utica, to prepare every thing for the performance of the commission given him.

THEY had hardly set foot on land, when a herald came to Cheres with offers of peace from Anteus. He told him, that the king, his master, promis'd to raise the siege of Carthage the very moment he restor'd his son. Cheres answer'd coldly, That the siege of Carthage was already rais'd; and that it was the Tingitan army which was now besieg'd, and had reason to ask quarter: But that the Carthaginians not having any inclination to make an ill use of their advantage,

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they first requir'd the king to consent immediately, that his prisoners, whom he had loaded with irons, might be releas'd, and plac'd, with their hands and feet free, between the van-guard of his army and the wall of the city. That on his side, he would send and desire Giskon, or the governor of Carthage, to range the prisoners, which the Carthaginians had, in the same manner, without the open gate, accompany'd by a proper convoy of the garrison. That then, without reckoning the number on either side, they should suffer every one to return under the banners of their prince; or remain on the contrary side, according to their own choice. He added, that when that was done, they would conclude upon the manner in which the king and his army should return to the Mauritania Tingitana. Cheres, having no great confidence in Anteus, was willing, before he declar'd his mind, to secure the freedom of the prisoners; for fear the king should exercise some cruelty on them, in revenge for the shame he found himself reduc'd to. However, Anteus, to gain time, and prevent any attack, consented to this first step in relation to the prisoners taken at the siege; tho' he plainly foresaw, as it indeed happen'd, that he should not keep one of the Carthaginians, and that three fourths of the Tingitans would remain with the enemy.

WHILE

WHILE this exchange was making, Cheres shut himself up to write a long letter to the king. He told him at the beginning ; That to spare him all disagreeable expostulations by the mediation of a herald or third person, he took this method to confer with him, under the secrecy and silence of a letter. That he would first of all inform him of the result of the deliberation at Carthage concerning his retreat. He then explain'd it in every circumstance : After which he added ; I don't know, my lord, whether you will be pleas'd or displeas'd at the part I have had in this resolution of the senate. They carry'd it at first against you to an expedient which offer'd by far more naturally to their minds : Which was, to take advantage of the arrival of the Capsians, and of the troops which compose the Carthaginian fleet and mine, to surround you on all sides, and to free you and your army from the uneasiness of a retreat, by a general discomfiture. I was the only one who oppos'd this advice, which would not only have finish'd the present war, but, perhaps, have put you out of a condition ever to enter into any other ; and, to say yet more, would have open'd a way for the Carthaginians, if they should have thought fit, to invade the Mauritania Tingitana. As they know I am no

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favourer either of conquests or conquerors, they did not so much as alledge any such view to me. They were contented, submitting to the agreement I propos'd in your favour, with the honour which will accrue to them, of having voluntarily and generously given peace to Africa. It is just, my lord, that, in consideration of a gift, which at this time you stand in so much need of, you accept of the conditions impos'd upon you. As I may, perhaps, remain yet some time amongst them, I will endeavour myself to moderate the pecuniary indemnification you are indebted to them, for the unjust war you have made upon them; and I have already exhorted them to this moderation. But besides the means you have employ'd to come before the walls of Carthage; the violation of all the promises you had made Giscon; in short, the indifference you yet shew with regard to the princess your daughter, after having made her a snare to intrap your enemy, usage very unworthy of a king and father: all these justify the Carthaginians in their denial of entering into any treaty with you, but upon the full and entire accomplishment of your retreat in such manner as they shall think expedient. You will easily imagine, my lord, that for an enemy's army to cross their territories, would be suspicious on every account: And on the other hand, your troops must undergo
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the fatigue of so long a journey, the unhappy consequence of a six months fruitless siege. You ought as little to be surpriz'd at my keeping the prince your son in my hands, as an hostage for the engagements you are laid under, and to which your undertaking has expos'd you. I will go farther : As you are inform'd of the education I give him, by means of the greatest men on earth for the knowledge of manners, you ought rather to entreat me to keep him some years longer ; and he might learn in this school, that a king can be no otherwise happy, but by fearing the gods, loving his subjects, and observing the rules of justice, with regard to his neighbours, and even his enemies. However, my lord, if these reasons don't affect you, I know that my intentions, however advantageous to this young prince, don't give me a right to detain him against his father's will. And therefore, as soon as you are return'd into your capital, and from thence have satisfy'd the Carthaginians, I will restore your son ; and for this I give you my word, which, thanks to the gods, has never deceiv'd any one. No mention has been made of Siga in the council ; neither is it time yet to speak of it. It is a conquest the Carthaginians have made, and I have been assistant in it myself : But I only did it by way of defence ; and the taking of this city is in reality one of the chief causes
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of the deliverance of Carthage. If just measures could be taken for future and distant events, my intention would be to render Siga to your son, when the course of human things shall have plac'd him on your throne. The hopes he already gives of being one day an accomplish'd prince, and the manner with which he answers the cares that are taken, under my inspection, to cultivate the excellence of his genius, might render him worthy of this regard from the Carthaginians; and, if you desire it, I will employ my influence to have this article inserted in the treaty of peace which will be sent you to Tingi. For, with regard to you, my lord, if the Carthaginians, contrary to all appearance, should be inclin'd themselves to restore this place to you, I can't conceal it from you, I should use my utmost endeavours to oppose it. You will be sensible of the reason, as soon as I have told you, that I took advantage of the swoon, in which the governor of Siga, being sorely wounded, was brought into my tent, to take away the private letter you wrote him with your own hand, and the order you gave your soldiers to destroy and pillage all the citizens of Siga. I am not so inhuman to consent, that subjects be restored to a prince so averse to them. This barbarous design is hitherto a secret to the whole world, except the governor and me,
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and we have neither of us any inclination to divulge it. And to say the truth, your enemies themselves, and those who envy you, would have no need to make use of it against you. You have since that shewn by other examples, what even your soldiers have to fear from an injustice arising perhaps from your misfortune, and which your misfortune ought however to put you out of conceit of : for it appears, that, for some time, all your troops only wait the opportunity of some ill success to leave you. This, my lord, ought to engage you to have a yet greater esteem for your officers who were made prisoners at Siga ; because, knowing you better than your soldiers do, they have not to this hour departed from their fidelity to you. They shall be restored to you, if they desire it.

The truth of these facts, and the justice of the reproaches contained in this letter, drove Anteus into despair. He dissembled, however, his resentment to the messenger who delivered it him ; and only told him, that Cheres himself knew very well, that he could not answer his letter in a moment ; but that in general he was willing to retire in the manner he propos'd ; and was preparing to transport his troops to the other side of the river, with the condition only of some circumstances of honour, which
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he would desire of him in his answer, or by a herald,

It was not long after the return of the messenger, before a herald came from Anteus to Cheres; who told him, in the name of the king his master, That an army which was yet in a good condition, and did not raise the siege out of any urgent necessity, might with reason expect the same honours which were generally granted to a garrison that capitulates at the point of an intended storm: which was to march in order, with colours flying, trumpets sounding, and their arms in their hands. That he consented all his troops should lay down these their arms one after another, as they came to the shore where they were to embark. That on the other hand, it was but just, that all the troops of both fleets should form two strong lines on the western bank of the river, thro' which the Tingitans should pass, to be observ'd in their march; if they could suspect that their inferiority, and an open assurance was not of force to restrain them. That, in short, there should be not one on horseback but the king himself, who would have no other offensive weapon but his sword. Cheres immediately answered, that he was persuaded the Carthaginians would not retard the departure of the Tingitans for a point of ceremony; and that he granted in their name

name the king's desire. He only insisted, that, as the day was already pretty far spent, they should not begin to pass the river on pontons which they had made, and kept in order themselves for the siege, till the next morning at break of day; because they could not till then conveniently range the soldiers of both fleets for the king's army to pass thro'.

As soon as the herald was departed, Cheres went to find the Carthaginian general, to acquaint him with this demand of king Anteus, and the consent he had thought proper to give to it. He added, that as Anteus was to be alone on horseback, it would be but generous on their side to have likewise but one, and that he would with pleasure give him that honour. The general answered, That he was just going to seek him to shew him an order of the senate, which he had just received; and by which he had commission to convey the Tingitans into their own country, and to have an eye upon their embarkation, if they accepted of the proposal Cheres had made for their return: That therefore he was obliged to be with the vessels which were to observe this their embarkation. That thence it followed of course, independant of all other reasons, that Cheres must be on horseback to command the lines, compos'd as well of Carthaginians

ginians as his own troops, thro' which the besiegers were to march. This being thus concerted between them, Cheres sent to Carthage to inform the council of war of this new circumstance, as a thing in itself of little consequence. But then he recommended it as a point of honour, which he thought of importance to observe, that none of the troops who were in Carthage should come out, not to intimidate enemies, who had in a handsome manner complied with whatever had been required of them; and the rather, as there were troops enough about Utica to oppose them, if, instead of surrendering themselves, they should offer to engage with them.

ANTEUS thinking he could no ways save his honour but by a last effort of perfidy, employed the remainder of the evening in founding the chief officers of his army concerning a desperate attempt for the next morning. He persuaded them, and urg'd them to hint the same to their soldiers; That he had been advis'd by faithful spies, the design of the Carthaginians was to drown them all, as soon as they came into the main sea, and long before they could see their own shores. That the king, not willing to expose them to the hazard of a battle, in which they must engage with the troops of Carthage and those of Utica at one and the same

same time, had with subtlety opened the way to the only relief that was in his power: which was the liberty he had obtained for them to pass on the other side of the river, with their weapons in their hands, thro' an army not more numerous than theirs. That if they had any courage, they would readily expose themselves to a doubtful death to avoid one that was certain. That the signal for the attack should not be given them, till they should be together on the lofty plain which bordered the banks on the other side: And that, to conclude, those who came last over the pontons, should render them of no use to the troops of the city which might follow them. He assur'd them, that at the conclusion of the battle, in which, besides the equality of troops, they would have the advantage of the surprise, he would dispense with their return to the siege of Carthage, which was too well defended. That he willingly sacrific'd to them a glory, which, in some manner, only concern'd him: but that he would give up to them, as a prey, for the alleviation of their march, all the cities they should meet with on the southern confines of the Mauritania Sitifensis and Massæsyliensis, thro' which it would be most proper for them to take their retreat. These impostures and promises made an impression upon these barbarians: and in return of the good will

will the king expressed for them, they promised to stand by him faithfully. As the march was to be by ten in a rank, they had orders, at the instant of the attack, to turn five one way and five the other, against the lines of the enemy, which would be on each side of them. The king was to march in the rear, and they were not to engage till he was upon the eminency. To conclude, The first ranks which came to the vessels before the signal, had orders to deliver up their arms, and to suffer themselves to be imbarck'd, the better to deceive the enemy, to whom afterwards they should plead ignorance. This part was given to those who were infirm, and would hardly have been able to follow the army in its retreat.

THE next morning, as soon as the dawn appeared, Cheres caus'd the troops of the two fleets to be rang'd, from the place where the Tingitans were to enter the plain, to a certain space of the shoar which was on the side of Utica: for it had not been thought proper to let them pass thro' the town to go to the port. The plain was moreover bounded by downs, which stood perpendicular in the water, at the angle made by the mouth of the river and the sea; and from whence soon began a low shore, as well on that side towards the river, as on the other towards the sea. As the two

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lines of foldiers, who seem'd to be placed there rather for a fhew than a defence, were forming, Cheres took care to tell them, or caus'd them all to be told privately, That tho' he had no reason to miftrust the enemy, they fhould always be upon their guard; and that without fufpecting any one, they fhould be attentive to the fecurity of their army. That neverthelefs, they fhould make no motion of their own heads, and that they fhould in every circumftance wait the orders of their officers. Cheres rode a horfe which had been given him by the king of Guiney, and which he himfelf had managed, at every leifure hour he had had on all the coafts where his fleet had afterwards touch'd. Young Pammus was on foot, and would have continued fo, if nothing extraordinary had happened; but a horfe was led at fome diftance, which he was to mount at the firft fign of any difturbance, to carry the commander's orders on every fide. The firft ranks of the Tingitan army were come directly to the veffels, where the general ordered them on board, when the king on horfeback, and by himfelf, appeared at a great diftance on the eminence of the plain. Cheres went to meet him, and began to march on his left hand, as well to do him honour, as to have a watchful eye over him. The king himfelf, who eafily knew him to be Cheres, made as if he

had a mind to enter into conversation with him. But those of the Tingitan officers, who were to be at that time about the middle of the space, had orders to give the signal for battle. Pammus, who was not far from them, was the first who perceiv'd it, by some words they had before let drop, and ran immediately to his horse, which always followed him very close. So, upon the first tumult that was made, Cheres casting his eyes upon him, saw him mounted; and instead of orders, only made him a sign with his hand to give directions for the attack. This young man acquitted himself of his commission in an extraordinary manner, and pursued it during the whole time of the battle, not but that he frequently sought the eyes of his commander to receive his orders. But either he did not see him, or only received a sign of approbation at a distance. He passed thro' the enemies a great number of times, with the help of his horse, to go from one line to the other to fortify the ranks, or to hinder them from mixing with them. In a word, it was he, who, in some manner, commanded the battle. For on one side the Carthaginian general had enough to do to oppose the Tingitans, who after the ten or twelve first ranks were embark'd fell upon him by the side of his vessels; and, on the other hand, Cheres, who saw

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that all went well in the main of the battle, kept close to the king. He never left him in any single motion alone. His horse, which was much lighter than that of Anteus, wheel'd continually about his, so that he immediately deprived this prince of all inspection over a perilous and rash engagement, of which he had hoped no success but from his conduct and experience, which it was not in his power to exercise. It was in vain that he attempted a hundred times to pierce his enemy ; he always warded off his blows. But as the king was in very close armour from head to foot, Cheres could never hurt him for want of perceiving the joints. The king griev'd to see that his officers did not know whom to consult in the disorder which encreas'd upon them, said at last to Cheres, That he did not think his misfortune would have reduc'd him to engage in single combat with a man, who himself pretended to be no more than an unknown soldier. Cheres answered in a lofty tone, It is enough for me that I know myself to attack Anteus ; and without any further expostulation, every man has right over a traitor. Let us see then, replied Anteus, if you are worthy of a regular combat with me. Let the battle between the two nations cease, and let their quarrel be decided by him of us two who shall overcome the other. You speak too late, said Cheres,

for the general decision : The Tingitans are vanquish'd ; and if they were, not yet I should be cautious how I let people, who don't belong to me, depend upon my particular convention with you : You have nothing to expect from me but the single combat which I offer you at the end of yonder downs, after the victory of the Carthaginians. But during this dialogue, the Tingitans being driven to extremity, surrender'd of themselves, protesting that their king had engaged them, against their will, to this treachery.

THEN Anteus, leaving the field of battle, went first to the place appointed, where he found a large open spot of ground. The conquerors and new prisoners follow'd him by their eyes ; Cheres, in passing along their ranks, order'd his people, with a loud voice, not to come after him, or lend him any assistance : He had, however, that day no other armour on but an helmet, and a very light cuirass, both rather for ornament than a combat, of which he had little thoughts, and he had even the generosity, or greatness of mind, not to speak of this difference to Anteus : but having very well observ'd the rider and the horse he had to combat with, and willingly allowing them the advantage they had in force over him and his, he presum'd to depend on the superiority

riority of his skill, and the nimbleness of his horse. The beginning of this combat seem'd, on the side of Cheres, to be only on the defensive. The king, not being able to give his adversary one blow, aim'd at the head of his horse; but Cheres secur'd that as carefully as his own: And what surpriz'd the king yet more; it seem'd, and was truly the case, that Cheres avoided the wounding his horse, as much as he took care to secure his own: so, returning to the rider, he perceiv'd he gave way, and he believ'd it was either out of fear, or at least the impossibility, which his enemy perceiv'd, of finding a passage through the armour he had on. Cheres, having thus rais'd by degrees the confidence or presumption of his enemy, began to fly; but by wheeling about, to make the rider and horse who follow'd him giddy: At length, turning at once, and appearing apprehensive of being overtaken, he took flight towards the sea, not according to the swiftness of his own horse, but to that of the king's. Anteus, having no fear of falling, while he had Cheres before him, gave a loose to his horse's reins: but Cheres, being just upon the brink of the spot of ground, turn'd his horse short to the left, and let Anteus pass by him. The king us'd his utmost endeavours to stop his horse, but in vain: The force he us'd only made him tumble the sooner; and,

throwing his rider over his head, they both fell into the sea, one on the one side, and the other on the other, in the sight of the fleet which was below, and of all those who were nearest the brink above. The Carthaginians and their allies immediately fill'd the air with acclamations of joy ; to which the Tingitans were not far from adding theirs : but Cheres put a stop to them, saying ; No, the victory is not compleat, 'till I have secur'd the death, or at least captivity, of a man whom no conventions or treaties will bind. To crown all his treachery to you, he has had the baseness to challenge me to a single combat, tho' he saw I was lightly arm'd, and knew, that by the unusual manner in which he had secur'd himself, he was invulnerable. In accepting his challenge, I could have no other dependence, but the expedient with which the gods inspir'd me, and have given success to : nevertheless, I won't leave him room to reproach me, that I have led him to another field of battle, whither I won't follow him. Cheres immediately ran down the way which went to the low shore. Anteus, who was not fall'n far from this shore, recover'd it sooner than his horse, that was yet swimming. As soon as he perceiv'd Cheres was within hearing, he said ; Alight from your horse to combat with me without advantage, or to receive my sword, which I deliver up to

you,

you, as your prisoner. Cheres being about to alight to accept of the king's last offer, perceiv'd that he took the opportunity of this moment to advance and strike at him. He had, however, time to gain the ground, and to face Anteus, whose blow he warded off: but observing that his enemy's cuirass was disorder'd by the fall, he aim'd so well at him, that he pierc'd him thro' and thro', and laid him at his length upon the sand. He then said to him; Anteus, I have deferr'd your death as long as I possibly could, tho' I thought it necessary for the tranquillity of Africa, and the happiness of your subjects: I will likewise tell you for your comfort in death, That your son shall be put in possession of your dominions in their whole extent, and that your daughter is acknowledg'd heiress to the Carthaginian empire by prince Zoros and his senate. Anteus was going to utter some words, but he could not, so as to be heard, and expir'd upon the spot. Several officers and soldiers, as well of the Carthaginian as Phœnician fleet, coming then to meet Cheres, he intreated them to bury the king's corpse in the catacombs of Utica; because he would not, as he said, execute his vengeance on the dead, as was practis'd by some nations more barbarous than they believ'd themselves to be.

THIS hero, having thus render'd a greater service to mankind by the death of the second Anteus, than Hercules by that of the first, was now only solicitous how the two nations, whose war he had put an end to, might enjoy the fruits of his victory : but preserving always the same good-will for the Carthaginians, his private zeal was already turn'd towards the Tingitans, as those who now had most need of him : above all, he look'd upon himself as a guardian intrusted not only with the education, but with the crown of young Tygeus ; and the more intrusted with both, as the melancholy circumstances of affairs had oblig'd him to sacrifice his father with his own hand. Before he re-ascended the plain, he went to the side of the vessels where the Carthaginian general yet stood ; he told him, That this last event having chang'd the disposition which the senate had made of the Tingitan army, he thought it best for the troops of both fleets carefully to keep the prisoners they had just made, 'till they receiv'd fresh orders. The general answer'd, That this caution seem'd very proper, and that he would not 'till then carry his vessels back again to Utica. Cheres coming immediately to the plain, publish'd this new disposition first to the Carthaginians, and then to his own people. Now, as they had all hitherto remain'd

main'd almost in the same ranks as they had given battle, they were weary of being so long upon duty ; it was therefore very acceptable to the Carthaginians to have an order to retire with their booty into the houses or barracks of Utica, where they generally resided : but the soldiers of Cheres's fleet had no other residence but their vessels which were in the haven ; and it was thither they convey'd all their Tingitan prisoners, who surpass'd by three parts in number those which the Carthaginians had made.

DURING this retreat, which was very peaceable on both sides, Cheres took Pammus aside, and gave him commission to go and privately to assure prince Tygeus, to whom he would not appear so soon himself, That he acknowledg'd him king of the Mauritania Tingitana : That he would employ his person, influence, and all his forces, to have him acknowledg'd so every-where : In a word, That he would perform all he had mention'd in the letter he wrote the day before to his father, and of which he sent him a copy taken with his own hand, before he deliver'd it to his messenger. Pammus acquitted himself of this commission with as much affection as prudence. And indeed, if the present succession to a crown, and the offer of a powerful.

erful assistance, when he was actually depriv'd of all forces, and of liberty itself, had not from the bottom of his soul reconciled this young prince to the conqueror of his father, this letter, as we have seen it above, was a justification of the one, and a condemnation of the other, which only left to nature an affliction which was so much the more laudable, as it had not been deserv'd.

CHERES having himself seen all the troops embark'd, return'd immediately into the castle; and going into the chamber of young Tygeus, who turn'd aside when he saw him, he took hold of his hand by force, and said to him; My lord! It is of no concern to me, whether you look upon me with a good eye, or not; but it is of concern to you to be settled in your kingdom. Your glory, and perhaps your safety, require that I carry you hence this moment. Then turning about to all who were in the apartment, in which there were then none but his own people, he said, Follow me every one of you, without speaking to any body: I will give answer to every one who has any thing to say to us. With this train he pass'd the way which led to the haven, telling the citizens, on each side as he went along, That he, with his whole fleet, was carrying young Tygeus

to do homage to the Carthaginian senate, for Siga restor'd. They did not perfectly comprehend what his meaning was : but as he express'd doing an homage to the senate, and no suspicion could enter into their minds against Cheres, they not only suffer'd him to pass, but his whole fleet, not forgetting the little vessel which Pammus had brought, to depart out of the haven.

THIS fleet went in reality immediately before the haven of Carthage ; and Cheres pitch'd upon Pammus for his ambassador, accompany'd by two of his chief officers, one a Phœnician, and the other of Taprobane. He told them, He had a negotiation to transact with the Carthaginians, which might perhaps require several messages to and fro ; but that, to remove all uneasiness from the senate on their account, it would be proper to begin that very day, tho' it was late, and tho' they should not resume the treaty 'till the morrow. He gave them commission to represent first to the senate, that their fleet had quitted their haven, as soon as they thought they could be no longer of service to them, according to the custom that Cheres had every-where observ'd : but if the Carthaginians thought they had any obligation to him, he desired them, as a mark of gratitude, to restore to him all the Tingitan prisoners, as well the officers brought

brought from Siga, as all the officers and soldiers who had just surrender'd themselves at the battle of Utica, and were remaining in their hands. You shall tell them, said he, I desire no other reward of them for my services, than the freedom of these unhappy people, whom I design to carry into their own country. You shall at first make this proposal simply, and without alledging any other reason, to give the senate an opportunity of displaying their generosity. But if you find any opposition, then put them in mind, that the whole garrison of Siga offer'd their service to us; and that I, nevertheless, caus'd them to be list'd in the Carthaginian troops, as well as all the prisoners Anteus had, which were restor'd to them yesterday; and those of the Tingitan prisoners, who remain'd of their own accord under their banners. I desire neither one nor the other of those; and I even consent, that they keep such of the prisoners made at Utica, who may take the same resolution: In a word, I will have none but those who desire to return to their own country. If they grant your demand, you shall farther intreat them to lend us six large vessels for their transport, mann'd with Carthaginians; that will be more than enough for their prisoners, and will give ours something more liberty. You shall, to conclude, engage on my part, that we will
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none of us disembark any-where but in the Mauritania Tingitana, and that nothing shall be undertaken in our whole voyage against their interest.

THE ambassadors, being arriv'd at Carthage in a frigate of ceremony, found the senate pretty much surpriz'd at this appearance of strangeness which Cheres had taken at once : They were actually assembled on account of the prisoners, and design'd to send their resolution, as soon as it was fix'd, to Utica. This famous senate, which afterwards extended the Carthaginian empire from Cadiz in Spain, to the altars of Philenes in Cyreniaca *, was much juster with regard to their own subjects, than with respect to those nations they hop'd to conquer ; and they limited themselves with regard to the latter, as the Roman senate since, to certain imperious generosities which did not at all lessen their pretensions. They then propos'd to put these last prisoners to death, as a punishment for the treachery they were guilty of in the plain of Utica. In vain Giscon, who was plac'd on one side a little below the front of the throne, represented to them, That it would be unjust to punish soldiers with death, who had surrender'd ; and at the same time protested,

* Polyb. l. i. c. 3.

that

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that the king had forc'd them into this action : That the death of this tyrant was a sufficient revenge ; and the more, as it had secur'd them for a long time from any apprehension of a war. The greater number of the senators persisted yet in their severity, when the gate was open'd for the ambassadors, who came to make a demand very different from their judgment.

PAMMUS, who, notwithstanding his youth, had already acquir'd a great esteem, by the battle which they knew he manag'd on the plain, behav'd himself wonderfully well in the character of him who sent him : He made his proposal in a very courteous manner ; and raising the tone of his voice, in his replies to the difficulties he had foreseen, he gave them to understand, that a hero who desir'd nothing but what was just, tho' he submitted to an intreaty, would not submit to a refusal.

THEY desir'd the ambassadors to go out of the hall for a moment, while they consulted of the answer they were to give them. The senators, even the most obstinate, consider'd the ingratitude they should incur the blame of, if they fell out with such a benefactor as Cheres on the very day of their deliverance ; and they reflected that, independent of the benefit, and upon the bare
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same of his justice, publick prejudice would give the matter in dispute against them : wherefore, calling in the ambassadors, the eldest of the senators said, That considering the obligations they had to their commander, and to the whole fleet, they intirely gave up their right to the small number of prisoners that fell to their share at the battle of Utica ; and that, for the sake of Cheres's protection, they gave them their lives, which they had justly forfeited, and even a promise of their liberty : but that Cheres himself had given them to understand, that prince Tygeus should be their hostage for what the Tingitans were indebted to them. We had reason to be contented with this hostage, (continu'd the senator) as long as he continu'd within our territories ; but since your commander has thought fit to deprive us of him, the only security we have left for our indemnification, is in our prisoners. We are persuaded Cheres won't think this security an equivalent for what he takes from us : but such as it is, we shall keep it 'till our demands, which the loss of a more considerable pledge will oblige us but too much to moderate, are satisfy'd.

PAMMUS answered, He did not believe their commander would be satisfied with this answer : but that if the senate had had
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the condescendance to deliver up these prisoners to them, and had lent them six vessels which would have been necessary to carry them away, they would all three have join'd to urge the case of their indemnification to Cheres, and that they were perswaded he would have given the senate satisfaction on this head. The ambassadors seeing that they still insisted on their point, retired, and did not get back again to their vessels till it was night.

THE senators discovering the next day Cheres's fleet in the same place, expected new instances, which they resolved to oppose in the senate. They were hardly assembled, when the ambassadors again appeared at the gate; and being admitted, Pammus said, That their commander desired the senate would reflect upon the difference which the death of Anteus had made in the circumstances of affairs. That as in his life-time they had to do with a man whose faith was not be depended on, Cheres being alone master of his son, was willing to keep him as an hostage for the indemnification due to them. That he even intended to have passed the whole time till they had their full satisfaction at Utica; but that the death of this king had, in his mind, very much altered the nature of their debt; and that he believed so great an advantage ought with
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them to take place of payment. In short, my lords, if while reckoning upon the life of Anteus, and his return into his dominions, Cheres hinted to you, that his intention was not to use the Tingitans too severely, when they should be in peace with you; you may easily imagine, that he will speak more in favour of prince Tygeus, who has had no part in his father's undertakings, and for whom he is solicitous to settle a reign happy both for him and his subjects. Our commander, my lords, does not know whether you are to be moved by such equitable views: But if you think them unreasonable, he has given me orders to offer you another, which more nearly affects you; that is, the welfare of the Carthaginian empire, which you confess to be owing to his fleet, and for which he might insist upon any price in ready money. But, my lords, it would be much against his will to do that, and you can't reduce him to invalidate his own good works. You know that the two illustrious nations which compose this fleet, two of the chief officers of whom you see here with me, refus'd of their own accord their share of the treasure which was found in the palace of Siga. They are even to this hour contented, as a reward for all their labours, with the satisfaction you are going to give their commander.

THE eldest of the senators, who had perceived some appearance of threatening in this discourse of Pammus, answered, That one of the benefits Cheres had procured them, was that of putting them into a condition to defend themselves against him, if they were forced to it ; and that he himself would approve the maxim of preferring the real interest of one's country to the extravagant demands of a benefactor. But that at the same time, his opinion was, gratitude might move them to give up something that was not essential, in his consideration. That therefore he did not think the hopes of certain sums, was a matter of so great importance to the republick to break on that account, with a hero whom they should always confess to be the promoter of their welfare. That therefore he believed his companions would consent to restore him the prisoners he insisted on. That they were, however, surprized to find, that Cheres, who had at first shewn himself so favourable to the Carthaginians, was so altered at once, and in so singular a manner, for the Tingitans, and that this change did not seem to answer the character fame had given him.

My lords, answered Pammus instantly, Cheres never kept closer to his principles,

than in the course of the undertaking he engaged himself in to serve you, nor has he ever pursued a project with more resolution, than that he at first proposed. You might have judged by the history of the course he has just finished round Africa, that he don't think he is destin'd by the providence of the gods for any other end, but to procure the mutual good of those nations to whom this providence guides him. Don't imagine he took your part in this war because you are Carthaginians; no, it was because you were unjustly invaded. Thus now your enemy is no more, and your republick is re-established, he has declared himself protector of young Tygeus, and defender of the Mauritania Tingitana. Moreover, from the very first day he concerned himself in the quarrel between the two nations, he has laboured to obtain the happiness of both. It was in this double view he seiz'd the young prince at Tingi; and he was no less thoughtful of forming a good king in him for the Tingitans, than he was of frustrating Anteus's unjust design upon the Carthaginians. It was to have time to give the son an education which might be one day of service to his subjects, that he devis'd the debt of the father to you; and I don't suppose but in the end, he would have reduced it to a very small matter. But what service is not he now doing to you yourselves; when in-

stead of Anteus, who sought a death from which Cheres exempted him for a time; he gives you a neighbour, who is a just prince, who will make it a law to him never to extend his frontiers, and to cultivate a friendship with you so expedient to enrich both nations?

PAMMUS stopping here, all the senators seem'd affected with his discourse, and said, that without any private consultation, they all confirm'd the opinion of the eldest of their body; provided Cheres was inform'd, that they were mov'd to grant him the prisoners by the reasons displayed to them, and by no means by his dissembled threats. The three ambassadors immediately made a profound reverence, to shew that they allowed this present the most favourable interpretation the senate could wish.

BUT Pammus resuming his discourse, said: My lords, after having laid open to you the principles upon which our commander acts, you will be no longer surprized at the second and last request he has to ask of you. He has given us commission not to wait the performance of the first, before we lay this before you. The knowledge he has of the excellency of sentiments which distinguishes your august body, won't let him take those measures with you, which he took with regard to
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the perfidious Anteus. He would not mention to him the mortifying circumstances of his retreat, till after the very last of his prisoners was delivered into your hands. But he is not apprehensive that our second demand should make you retract the consent you have been pleased to give to the first. It is, my lords, that you restore Siga to prince Tygeus, and acknowledge him king of the Mauritania Tingitana. This caused a great murmuring in the senate: What, said they, Cheres is not satisfied with frustrating our just demands, he will deprive us of our conquests too. He is no longer a partial judge, he becomes our open enemy. Pammus, after having suffered them to cool a little, said: My lords, the design of Cheres is, that Tygeus do homage to you for this city, as a favour receiv'd of your pure generosity. But you have reason to suppose, that your refusal would make him declare himself your enemy. You know how averse he is to conquests between states which are regular, and whose limits are sufficient to support the security and tranquillity of their subjects. Now it happens here, that he himself made the Tingitans lose this place: he don't meddle with conquests which you have made by any other hands than his; but this ought to follow the intention he had in taking it. His design was to deliver Carthage; that is now done,

and the besiegers died by his hands at the foot of your walls. The motive for taking Siga has been accomplish'd with usury, and he now looks upon that city as belonging to young Tygeus. Therefore, my lords, it is not with an intention of threatening ; it is alone to guide and shorten your debates, I declare to you, in the name of Cheres, that he will rather be buried under the ramparts of that place, than not restore to the just owner a possession which he never design'd to deprive him of but for a time. Not to mention the succours the Tingitans would furnish him ; you know that the lives of all his soldiers are personally devoted to him ; and you would be the cause that I myself might never see Egypt again, which is my country as well as his. You might, perhaps, have stood in need of Siga as a pledge against the perfidy of Anteus ; and Cheres had assured this king, that he would never contribute to restore it to him in his life-time. But he promis'd him, when he gave him his death's blow, that he would see it restor'd to his son. He hopes, my lords, that you will now enable him to keep his word, especially as you have so much reason to confide in the growing virtues of young Tygeus : and to give you the greater assurance of them, Cheres proposes to cultivate them
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himself in Tingitania, during the first year or two of his reign.

THEY then desir'd the ambassadors to retire into another apartment as before. Giscon speaking first, carried on, in a manner, the whole debate. He confessed, that he perceiv'd in the whole conduct of Cheres, the sublimity of the Egyptian morals, and the lessons he himself had receiv'd, when he had the happiness of being initiated at Memphis. That he esteem'd it a happiness, the enormous failings he had been guilty of, had not quite extinguish'd the esteem and admiration of the virtue he discovered in the hero they had to deal with. That it was for the honour of the senate to favour such views, and that they ought all to be zealous of partaking in the merit of their execution. He beg'd of them to reflect what would be the opinion of the prince his father on what had been laid before them: he conjur'd them to have regard to it in his absence, and not to expose to an unnecessary war a prince who was crush'd with years, and who had ever aim'd after peace in a necessary war. The senators did not hesitate a moment to submit to reasons they themselves were become sensible of. They added, that there was nothing more wanting, than to leave to Cheres the conditions of the homage he had offer'd them.

Resolving afterwards to carry their civility yet further, they propos'd to send a deputation of four senators, and at the head of them Giscon, to the fleet, to compliment Tygeus upon his accession to the Tingitan crown. They concluded, that this ceremony should be preceded by the six vessels which they would lend him, with the prisoners in them, that Cheres desired. This resolution, which was taken in less than half an hour, was declared to the ambassadors who were called in for that purpose, and who departed immediately to give an account to Cheres of the happy success of their embassy.

AFTER some time, they saw the six Carthaginian vessels approaching, and Cheres immediately caused a splendid gondola, in which he conducted the young king, to row up towards them. He made it pass by the six vessels they lent him; because he proposed to meet much such another gondola, in which were Giscon and the four senators, opposite to the entrance into the haven. The latter seeing that they were beforehand with them, agreed to deliver immediately to young Tygeus the orders to their governor for the restitution of Siga. So the two prows being joined, and every one standing, each in their own boat; Giscon himself presented this order to the king. At
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the same instant Cheres made Tygeus read a paper, in which his homage was written, which however was only a form of acknowledgment ; “ I Tygeus, king of the Mauritania Tingitana, promise, as long as I live, to acknowledge the favour I owe to the prince of Carthage and his senate, that they have been pleased to forget, in my behalf, the unjust war which my father made upon them ; and that, having regard to my youth, they have been so generous as to restore to me the city of Siga, which they lawfully took in the dominions of my father, during the siege of Carthage.” The young king, after having repeated these words, gave the paper into the hands of Giscon. He invited them at the same time to come with the four senators, and take a repast in the vessel, which Cheres would have called his, till his return into his own country. He likewise offered to convey them thither in his gondola ; but they entreated him to return first to his vessel himself, that they might acquit themselves more regularly of their commission. It was done accordingly, and the ambassadors not only saluted young Tygeus as king, but acknowledged him as such in the treaty of peace they had drawn up in a few words. It was in such terms as Cheres was satisfied with, and a dupli-

duplicate of it was sign'd on both sides before the repast.

THE same day, Cheres and Giscon having found means to separate themselves from the rest of the company, entered at first into discourse as persons who had no great knowledge one of the other; tho' it was Giscon alone who did not so well know Cheres. They discoursed upon the uncertainty the senate was yet in with regard to the two Mauritanias, the most distant of which had no king. They did not yet know whether they should transfer that to the king of Sitifi, and make of the other, as being nearest Carthage, a province of that empire: or whether they should make a province of the other, to shut in the king of Sitifi, and by that means to keep him under a stricter fidelity. Giscon thought the latter would be best. Cheres thought likewise it would be the most secure; and he added, that it was to be fear'd for this king, that he might some time or other esteem himself very happy to become a senator. Giscon going yet a little farther, told him, that as soon as they had rewarded, and sent back the Capsians, he himself would go immediately to fetch his father. The misfortunes of Carthage, continued he, the cause of which is but too well known for my honour, have obliged him to retreat to

a place which is unknown to all but the senate. Cheres answered him, that he knew it, and that he had even seen prince Zoros, his father, the princess Zarita, his spouse, and the Egyptian Amedes, formerly governor to prince Sethos, in their retirement. Giscon was seized with astonishment at this discourse; and perceiving that Cheres being acquainted with these names, was inform'd of the private history of his marriage, and of the consequences of it, told him, It was a comfort to him, tho' the heroick virtue of this princess remained so long a secret to the whole world; when he reflected that she was esteemed by the great Cheres. My lord, continued he, I am not astonished, that you have had the curiosity to visit the sacred country of the Hesperides; but how have you discovered a secret yet unknown to the king of the Atlantides? Amedes will inform you, answered Cheres. In the mean time, your senators will be impatient to return; let us go to them again. He added as they were going, and before he could be overheard by any body; I will only tell you, and that under the seal of the Egyptian initiation, that I have fulfilled, with regard to you, those duties of friendship, which I formerly promised you. Giscon remain'd speechless at these words, which could give but a false light to the mind of a man, who was diverted from their real signification

tion by all the circumstances reported by common fame. He could hardly recover his surprize so much as to reimbark, and to get to his father's palace, into some place where he might reflect alone upon what he had heard.

THE establishment of Tygeus in his dominions, and the return of the hermits from the Hesperides to Carthage, so naturally follow what we have already related ; that if this part of our history were a poem, we should be oblig'd to finish it here. Even historians generally abridge the relation of peaceable circumstances, which the great agitations of state, and the tumultuous actions of war sometimes end in. The longest spaces of time pass'd without any troubles, are the shortest in their works. The attention of readers is hardly to be kept up, but by the divisions or revolutions of empires ; or at least by conquests, which rendering a prince or a people renown'd, suppose the devastation of many others. And thus, we may always say, Happy that nation, or fortunate that age, the history of which is not diverting ! To satisfy therefore the reader in a few words, Cheres conducted the young king with his whole fleet to Siga. This place having been surrendred to him at the first view of the order from the senate, he imbark'd the Carthaginian garrison on the
fix

fix vessels he had borrow'd of the republick. And the forty which the main fleet had left at Siga, were more than sufficient to transport the troops which had kept the country round about the city. When they offered to pay the fix former the charges of the voyage, they were gratefully surprized to find, that they had orders to receive nothing. Cheres next gave the king to understand, that as long as he should have the honour to remain with him, he was very desirous he might in general keep his court at Siga; that his fleet might be something nearer Egypt, whither it was at last to return. But that however, it should not hinder him from going to his capital to be crown'd. In the mean time the Tingitan governor, who had been wounded at the last siege, being recovered, the king, by the advice of Cheres, restored him to the government of that city. Then it was he comprehended the sense of Cheres's words, which he had not forgotten: *I don't despair of making you happy myself, without, however, your having any dependence on the Carthaginians or the Phœnicians, or even on me; in a word, without obliging you to change your country.* On this occasion it was, that the king, Cheres, Pammus, and the governor being alone, agreed to burn the late king's horrid letter, that it might never be known to any but to them
four,

four, and that they might the sooner forget it.

THE Phœnicians employ'd the time of their sojourn in the Mauritania Tingitana in extending, under the king's protection, the commerce they had before establish'd in those cantons; while the king continued his exercises of piety and study under the care of the Egyptian priests. But being willing to take advantage of his education as king, he entreated these priests to send for a sufficient number of their companions to come into his country, and to accept of a perpetual establishment there if they would, or at least till they had produc'd the same fruits, and establish'd a priesthood upon the same footing as they had done in Guiney. All this was executed in time. The two Egyptian priests, who were governors to the prince, were not even to return with Cheres, tho' death had depriv'd him of two of the six he had brought from Taprobane, and so he retain'd no more than two. As for his two former governors, they had behav'd themselves in so prudent a manner, during the time of their captivity, that Cheres afterwards gave them to the king for his ministers, as two men who had improv'd very good natural parts by a conversation with the Egyptian priests, by whom they were very much esteem'd.

IN the mean time Cheres, before he conducted Tygeus to Tingi, went thither himself with one of his two former governors, to prepare every thing, and to proclaim the new king. He likewise took young Pammus with him, telling him ; That if he consider'd his age only, he would rather it were more advanc'd, to partake of the real advantages of travelling : For the greater number of young men, continu'd he, instead of improving their reflections, and extending their knowledge in the different countries thro' which they pass, increases their debaucheries, shew marks of a rash and unjust contempt of other nations, and dishonour their own among them. We don't run this hazard with you, and you have already shewn, that your youth has not hinder'd you from taking advantage of those opportunities which would have been offer'd too soon for others. Pammus answer'd him, That he look'd upon these praises as obliging lessons ; and that he esteem'd it a great happiness to his youth to be render'd capable of receiving those which would even be of another kind.

IT was during this sojourn of Cheres at Tingi, that Giscon, who went to fetch the Hesperian hermits in a very plain vessel, as to outward appearance, landed, at his return, in the port of Siga. Giscon had discover'd

cover'd the whole secret to the king of the Atlantides, to let him know the obligation the Carthaginians had to him. But they agreed not to divulge it, for fear of giving an example which might become an inconvenience for the future, from some other nations. During their voyage to Siga, the princess, tho' she express'd a very profound esteem for Cheres, and the lively sense she had of the signal services he had render'd Carthage, and was yet rendring her brother, said, however, that she wou'd not see the author of her father's death; and that therefore she would beg of him to retire into his apartment when she enter'd into the palace. Giscon, who had been inform'd by Amedes of the whole history of Sethos, employ'd all the arguments he could with her to make her retract this resolution, which he call'd injustice and ingratitude; but she was inflexible. At her landing at Siga, she was, however, sorry to hear that he was not in the city, and that she had pass'd Tingi without knowing he was there. Nevertheless, she was much freer in her brother's court, where this illustrious company was entertain'd, during eight days, with all manner of festivity. Here it was that prince Zoros sign'd, with a great deal of joy, the treaty of peace concluded between the senate of Carthage and young Tygeus. As for Amedes, he was just upon the point of departing for Tingi: But reflecting that he had devoted

devoted himself to the service of the new-married couple, who might have occasion for his advice at the beginning of an approaching reign; he subdued his inclination of repairing to a hero, who, tho' necessary to the whole world, was in need of no one. So he departed from Siga with the same company, before Cheres return'd.

HE return'd soon afterwards, and accompany'd the king to the ceremony of his coronation; after which, they came back again to Siga. There it was that at last, about eighteen months or two years after the raising the siege of Carthage, news came from every part, that the kingdom of Memphis, and even the Lower Egypt, was threaten'd with a war by prince Sethos. That this prince prov'd his being alive, by the ring which king Oso-roth, his father, had formerly describ'd to the king of Thebes; and that coming out of Arabia, where he had taken his retreat, and from whence he was furnish'd with troops, he came to dethrone his father, to be reveng'd for the condescension into which he was again fallen in favour of Daluca and her children. Cheres immediately made all possible preparation to go to the succour of his country, and determin'd to depart in four days: When at the beginning of the following night it was observ'd, that the vessel belonging to Pammus was departed, without any body

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having taken notice of it, and he himself appear'd no more. Cheres then enquir'd in his fleet, if the sailors belonging to this young man had not, unawares, told somebody who he was? He was answer'd, that none of them knew any thing of it; because he had taken them all at the Phatnitick haven, or at Phatnites in the Delta, where he imbark'd. Tho' the young king was in expectation of Cheres's departure sooner or later, the approach of this time made him very uneasy: and Cheres was oblig'd to fortify him against a separation which sensibly affected himself. The young prince thought in some measure to alleviate his affliction, by departing for his capital the same day Cheres set sail for Egypt; so they left the port of Siga together. The king was soon at Tingi: But Cheres took a much longer voyage; and resolv'd not to stop till he came to the most convenient port of the Delta, with regard to the condition he should find the warlike preparations were in at his arrival.





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B O O K X.



S Cheres was going to return into Egypt, where he might hope to find troops enough for the defence of the country, the officers of his fleet were urgent in offering their services for this last war, in which he was more concern'd than in all those from whence he now brought them. They represented to him, that after having employ'd them in so many foreign expeditions, it would

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be a shame to their nation if he should refuse their assistance, when the deliverance of his own country was the case: That it was their duty to give him, before they return'd themselves into their own country, this mark of gratitude in return for the glory and riches which he had procur'd them by the discoveries to which he had led them. And lastly, that the Arabians being almost as near to Phœnicia as Egypt, it was their interest to join with him to repulse an enemy equally dangerous to both nations. Cheres accepted with pleasure these offers, which he knew to be sincere; and besides, he had more dependance upon an army which he had form'd and train'd up himself to war, than on Egyptian troops, which, as he had heard, had not been much exercis'd since his retreat.

THE leisure of their voyage giving these officers afterwards an opportunity to extend their arguments on those affairs, they spoke of SETHOS in his own presence, in a manner which sometimes offended his modesty, and at other times his virtue: But their undesign'd indiscretions were to serve in future times, and after the approaching discovery of this adventure, to make them admire, when they reflected upon it, the sublime wisdom of their commander. They call'd to mind, in his presence, all the wonders which had been formerly related of this young prince at Memphis,

phis, before he disappear'd at the battle of Captos. From thence they went to abstruse reflections upon the change that had happen'd in him, notwithstanding the Egyptian initiation; and they deplor'd the unhappy impressions he had receiv'd in his pernicious intercourse with the Arabians. Taking matters afterwards in another view, they found that Sethos had some justice in his demands. They aggravated the treacherous and sanguinary ambition of Daluca, formerly suspected of having sacrific'd the lawful heir to the crown, to make way for her own children: and they took pity of a king, who seem'd to be relaps'd into a frailty, by so much the more blameable, as he knew the merit of his eldest son. They once concluded, by asking Cheres, If it was not Sethos's party he was going to take? and they assur'd him, they should always be on his side, which ever it were. Cheres, in answer to this question, said, That the succession to a crown being a future good, a son made himself criminal as soon as he aspir'd to it as a present good: For which reason, Sethos of Arabia, endeavouring to dethrone a king whom he calls his father, depriv'd himself, by this bare enterprize, of all the right of Sethos of Memphis: That he look'd upon him as an usurper, an enemy to Egypt by his assault, and to all the states of the world by his example: as a man, in short, who dishonouring titles, which had al-

ways been respected, did not deserve to be nam'd; and against whom he in reality only went to make him lose his name with his life. These words spoken in a very serious tone, made the officers think that Cheres was more exasperated against an enemy of his country, than against those he had met with elsewhere: and they discontinued these discourses, which they believ'd were only disagreeable to him for that reason.

BUT in reality, Cheres, who had avoided every opportunity of speaking of himself, not only out of modesty and decency, but the better to keep his secret, doubled his care on this account, from the day he had heard the unexpected news of a person appearing under his name. He chose rather, in some measure, never to be known, than to be for some time in competition with an impostor, and to see the opinions of men divided between him and a counterfeit. The profound silence he kept on this head, till the proper moment came to discover himself, contributed not a little to confirm the pretension of his competitor, and the error of all people to whom the report of this event was come. On the other hand, he was quite at a loss who this false Sethos could be; and did not so much as think of a slave, who had always appear'd faithful to him, and who he believ'd had been kill'd by his side. He did not suspect

suspect any of the young lords, his former companions, of having abandon'd titles which they possess'd with honour, for a greater which they could not support but by treachery. To conclude, his ring being taken away, made him suspect it was some Arabian among the troops of the king of Thebes, who now made use of his theft or spoil, to pass for him.

COASTING along the shore of Egypt, his fleet was advis'd, by boats which they sent ashore from time to time, that Sethos, at the head of a hundred thousand men, which he had imbark'd on the Red-sea, had surpriz'd and taken Heropolis, at the point of the isthmus, and was advancing towards Tanis. This kingdom of Egypt, the nearest to the Mediterranean, was then govern'd by a king call'd Spanius, a prince in years, but not so aged as Oforoth king of Memphis. Spanius had no child but a daughter of seventeen or eighteen years of age, call'd Mnevia. As she was of exquisite beauty, she was sought by many princes, some of whom were heirs to different thrones of Egypt. But the king, who was zealous of securing a proper succession to his crown, and who had likewise a great love for his daughter, had taken a firm resolution, not to marry her to any one, who could be a king in his own right. He would have his daughter keep up an

authority which she would have over a husband, who became king only by her means, and who even should only have the title ; and he was fearful lest the kingdom of Tanis should become a province to the Dynasty, which her husband might be king of. But as it would have been an injustice in such a king, whoever he were, to act so, and there had been examples in Egypt of kings of one kingdom, who had left their wives the authority which was their due over others, to which they were heirs ; Spanius, who was very circumspect, did not acquaint any of these princes with a distrust, which he kept a secret even to his daughter. But being inform'd of examples which had not prov'd so favourable, he took time to choose one amongst them, without having 'till then refus'd any. Besides that, as it is pretty common among impostors to endeavour to strengthen their pretensions by advantageous alliances ; Afares, before he attack'd the kingdom of Memphis, which he had at first threaten'd, and where he was expected, fram'd the design of asking the princess of Tanis in marriage. To support his demand by exploits of war, which might make him not only renown'd, but formidable to the king her father, he thought it proper to begin his invasion by a city which belong'd to this king, as Heropolis did. On the other hand
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likewise, after having taken it without opposition, he had treated the inhabitants with an extreme lenity; and advancing farther into the country he said, That tho' his interest oblig'd him to be conqueror, his inclination hinder'd him from being an enemy. He repuls'd however, more than once, the troops which Spanius sent against him in his march; and he began to invest Bubastis, pretty near to the capital, when he sent to the king to demand the princess. He offer'd the father peace, and his friendship, as soon as he granted his request; and to the daughter, the title he himself had to the kingdom of Memphis.

CHERES being then enter'd into that arm of the Nile which is call'd the Tanitick; and knowing how much the king was streighten'd, he sent two deputies to acquaint him, That the two nations who were come with him from coasting Africa, esteem'd all the glory they had acquir'd in that voyage as nothing, in comparison to that which they hop'd to gain in serving him: That, for his part, his intention was, if the king would give his consent to it, not to appear in his presence, 'till after he had extirpated the enemy, or at least drove him out of his dominions, and made him reembark in confusion upon the Red-sea. The king, who knew the fame
of

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of Cheres, accepted of this offer with an extreme joy: He return'd him all possible acknowledgments for it ; and let him know, that he would immediately give orders for him to be obey'd by all the troops in his kingdom, and furnish'd in every place with whatever he might want to execute his design. At the same time he sent back the deputies from Asares, advising them, as his only answer, to return with all expedition to their master, lest they should be met by Cheres.

THE first care of the new general was, to disembark all the troops of his fleet, to lead them to Bubastis, before which Asares incamp'd on the other side of the river. He then made use of the horses he had brought from Sophir, or recruited, in case of need, during his voyage. He limited his number of cavalry to six thousand men, because the nature of the soil of Egypt would have made a greater number troublesome : In short, he increas'd his army with the whole Egyptian militia which join'd him on his march.

ASARES, whom every body call'd Sethos, was very much astonish'd, that the arrival of Cheres so immediately follow'd the news of his approach towards Egypt. The shadow of justice, with which his cause was cover'd over, supposing him to be Sethos, had

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had made him at first doubt which part the just Cheres would take ; and finding he march'd against him with so much precipitation, he wonder'd that he decided the question with as little hesitation as if he had known the bottom of the affair. He began to think of offering him to send back the Arabians, whose assistance would have argu'd the real Sethos himself guilty, if he would procure him some justice from king Oforoth his pretended father. But besides that these barbarians would have refus'd to return, without having possession of that part of the eastern coasts of Egypt, which had been promis'd them by the impostor ; the fam'd virtue of his adversary, made him dread, by the bare reproach of his own conscience, all expostulation with him ; and he rather chose to submit to the blind chance of arms. It was not then he began to exercise the military profession ; and he had before-hand gain'd the reputation of a warrior. The king of Arabia Fœlix, believing him really to be Sethos, had early intrusted him with the defence of his dominions, against some invasions of the kings his neighbours ; and he had behav'd himself in that commission with success. And besides that, he neither wanted sense nor valour, as we have already seen in the beginning of this history : The design he had of usurping one day the crown of Memphis,

had

had engag'd him to gain experience in an art which he foresaw he should want. It was then about three years since, believing his countenance sufficiently alter'd, he had at first caus'd a report to be spread, that Sethos was fled into Arabia. In a short time afterwards he caus'd Oforoth to be told, by the ambassadors of the king of Meriaba, sent to him under other pretexts, That the son, whose loss he had formerly been so much afflicted for, was found again : That he resided generally at Meriaba ; and that tho' he had thought it necessary to change his name, while there, to conceal himself from his enemies, the king his father might send persons on whom he could depend, who might not only examine his ring, but to whom he would give full satisfaction to all the questions they might ask him concerning the circumstances of his infancy.

KING Oforoth, whose character we have seen in the former books, was not form'd to keep up a sense of affection during seven or eight years ; and a prince, who was never touch'd with any thing but what was present, had more than enough before his eyes to make him forget the deceased. Queen Daluca, who knew him perfectly well, remain'd four whole years in her exile, to make him believe she did not act by any motive of ambition : but she hardly waited

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Untill the second year after the absence of Sethos, whom she, as well as the publick, thought dead, to send her eldest son back to court. She recommended him to some persons of understanding, who had not much trouble to make the king receive him favourably. This young prince, whose name was Beon, was mild and easy, and readily believ'd that to be maternal affection ; which, in Daluca, was nothing else but an earnest desire of reigning, sooner or later, under his name : so he used his utmost endeavours to obtain his mother's return. She brought her second son, call'd Pemphos, with her, who was likewise of a sweet temper, but more active than his brother. He had not always been under her care ; and had taken the advantage of his exile, to travel as well within, as out of Egypt. He afterwards became one of the chief lovers of Mnevia. And as in quality of second son, he did not fall within the secret exclusion of Spanius, he had been very well receiv'd by the king, and likewise by the princess, tho' no promise had been made him. He was then employ'd in the defence of the coasts of the kingdom of Memphis on the Red-sea. The queen, when she was restor'd to favour, would not take the administration again. She had let the council of state, which the king had establish'd when he banish'd her from the court, subsist in shew : but after
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her return, she had made all the members of this council her creatures; and it was generally from her mouth the king receiv'd their counsels, or let them know his orders.

WHEN Osooth gave audience to the Arabian ambassadors, he had not consulted Daluca about the answer he had to give them concerning Sethos: But, of himself, he gave them much such a one as she would have dictated to him. He told them, that he should be overjoy'd to see his son, provided he would come immediately to a city in his kingdom, which he would nominate, and there give satisfaction to all the questions which should be thought proper to be ask'd him, to be assur'd of his existence. But that if, upon returning to his court, he found any thing, in present and future dispositions, different from what he might expect, he must attribute it, first, to the silence he had kept at the publication of the letter Osooth had written to the king of Thebes, immediately after the battle of Coptos; and, in the second place, to the privacy under which he had conceal'd, for seven years together, a fact which was of more concern to him than any one else.

THE counterfeit Sethos was more satisfy'd at the receipt of this answer than Osooth had believ'd. This impostor had no great inclination

ation to act by treaty. As assured as he might be, not only by the readiness and boldness of his genius, but by the advantage he had of being brought up near Sethos, he was not ignorant of the enormous difference there between falsity and truth : and he knew very well that the least blunder, however inevitable even the greatest are, would detect a forgery. He rather aim'd at a conquest, and began at the beginning by error, and which would afterwards place him above all trials. Besides, he could not have engag'd the Arabians in his cause, but by promising them to have some provinces of Egypt, which they had formerly possess'd on the coasts of the Red-sea, restor'd to them ; which he could not have propos'd to the king of Memphis in cool blood. He therefore rejoic'd with the king of Meriaba at the hard conditions, upon which he himself had foretold, that his father, by the suggestions of Daluca, would limit his return. He told him, that the exclusion from the crown, which Oforoth had declar'd to him in pretty plain terms, gave him a right to propose himself conditions to this blind king, and unjust father, which he would make him accept of by force. That it would suffice for that end, if the king of Meriaba would continue his good-will to him, and furnish him the means to make a conquest ; the partition of which should be secur'd to his benefactor by the same troops, that

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that were to assist him in the making it. The Arabian king having consented to a design, in which he believ'd he had a prospect of advantage, they let the king of Memphis know, that Sethos would not return to his court but upon two conditions: One, that he would previously banish, not only out of his palace, but out of his dominions, Daluca, whom Oforoth might have convicted in time, if he would, of having imploy'd the infamous Thoris to work the destruction of his eldest son, to make way for her two children; and the other, that he restor'd to this same son the just and natural hopes of his succession. That they presum'd to advise him to take this resolution immediately; because the king of Meriaba would put Sethos in a condition to oblige him by force of arms to render him that justice which he refus'd to his birth. Lastly, they protested in his name, that it would be no fault in a son, threatened with the loss of a crown, which was his right, if he could not secure the succession otherwise, to seize it even during the life of his father.

ALL these steps, which had preceded Cheres's arrival in Egypt, had brought the impostor Asares, by that time he arriv'd, to the walls of Bubastis, situate within land at about ten leagues distance from Heropolis. Cheres having made his army pass the Nile,
and

its canals, upon bridges, or in barks, imp'd at some distance from the enemy. SETHOS, sensible of the superiority of a man, who had subdued, as it were, nature itself, in visiting all round Africa; who had given manners and laws to all the barbarians on its coasts; who, in short, had, by his valour and wisdom, just reconciled the two greatest empires on the Mediterranean, did not think himself born to put a stop to so much success, and to eclipse so much glory in one battle, and by one defeat. He thought it would be more prudent to reduce himself to the defensive, and hope for something from time and circumstances. Wherefore, from the very first day he was sure which side CHERES took; he had begun to draw his camp to a narrower compass, and to fortify it with all sorts of intrenchments, which his industry, and the situation of the ground could make him devise. And moreover, as he was master of all the territories behind his camp to the Red-sea, he had kept on that side a large revenue, under pretence of receiving from thence the succours which he should send for not only from Heropolis and his fleet, but from the coasts of Arabia, if the siege should be tedious. But, in reality, as he had more foresight than these barbarians, he prepar'd for himself and them a ready and easy retreat, in case he should be oblig'd to give way to the good fortune of his adversary.

CHERES, being arriv'd before Bubastis, comforted himself for the impossibility he saw of engaging in battle with the impostor, and the difficulty it would be to force his intrenchments, by considering that his presence freed the city at least from all attacks: for not one of the besiegers offer'd to stir beyond their pallisado's. He endeavour'd even to decoy them out of 'em by a feign'd disorder. He separated his army more than he had done at first; and relying upon his own vigilancy, as well as upon sentinels, who were the more wary, as they appear'd to be the less so, he pass'd five days and five nights under tents, in a place very proper for an engagement, if the enemy had been inclin'd to it. This bait not having succeeded, his whole army, which he had been willing to save an exploit that might have been sanguinary, urg'd him to lead them on to the enemy, who had given too evident marks of their dread of being attack'd, to be much fear'd in their defence. Thus the case stood, when a herald came from the counterfeit Sethos to Cheres, and told him, that he was willing to raise the siege of Bubastis, and to return to his fleet, if Cheres himself would retire the distance of two days journey; because the Arabians could not hazard the necessary preparations for their retreat, in the presence, nor even in the neighbourhood of an enemy's army. If

not

t, they were resolv'd to remain in the situation they saw they were in till the inundation of the Nile would oblige them both to depart: and that, in this case, they would defer till another time to secure themselves the possessions they already had in Egypt.

CHERES, in the presence of his army, answer'd the herald in a few words: Tell your chief, that I shan't retire, and that I could be very sorry if he himself should retreat. These few words being related to Sares, increas'd his fear. With the opinion he had conceiv'd of the knowledge and experience of Cheres, he was apprehensive he had found some stratagem to surprize him in the middle of his intrenchments. They quickly after were inform'd from the city, that they perceiv'd, from the top of the towers, the enemy's camp in a silent motion, which they endeavour'd as much as possible to conceal. Cheres, going in person to make his observations, judg'd that the besiegers prepar'd for their retreat the following night. He even consider'd, that it was not prudent for them to lose their time before a city which they had no farther design to attack, and to remain to no purpose so far from Heropolis, their magazine. He therefore prepar'd to follow them. He took care not to disturb them in their departure from their camp, but made a shew as if he was quite ignorant

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of it the whole time. The next morning, by break of day, he was with his six thousand horse at the rear of a very numerous army; which, however, consisted chiefly of infantry, as having been design'd for a siege. He had given orders to his army to march after him at the rate of a league an hour, whatever motions they saw taken by the horse, who would not engage in a set battle without them. In the mean time, the cavalry, being all well mounted, soon overtook the enemy's rear, and began to gaul them sorely. Asares, who had kept what little cavalry he had in his rear, resolv'd to face him with them, encouraging his infantry to hasten their march to a place which was near about half way, and which he look'd upon as proper to range himself in battle-array. He, at the same time, dispatch'd messengers to ride full speed, and stop his first ranks in the same place. But the fear which had been propagated from one to another, had so much hasten'd their march, that not only the first ranks but the middlemost were already much nearer to Heropolis than to Bubastis. Asares was therefore oblig'd to divide the whole day between defence and flight; that is, after having fled to reach his infantry, he fac'd about with his two thousand horse, to give them time to fly farther behind him. Cheres, who after the first skirmishes march'd always an equal pace, not to be at too great a distance

nce from the remainder of his army, halted
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e fugitives towards the end of their march,
d to overtake a great part of their army be-
e it got into Heropolis. And, indeed,
ore than twenty thousand Arabian foot, the
t detachments of the camp, could march
farther when they came within a league
two of the city. Cheres's troops, on the
ntrary, were the more invigorated at the
ht of the enemy : And as they were there
a pretty large plain, Cheres, without stop-
ng their march, only open'd their ranks,
d himself at the head of his cavalry, fell
mediately upon that of Asares. A combat
unequal in every respect, soon became a
ody defeat for the Arabians. Their two
ousand horse being reduc'd to one hundred,
ok their flight thro' their own infantry;
ich they had hurry'd along with them, if
ares had not remain'd alone, and supported
m for some time. He had no hopes of
ing them : but while he sacrific'd these
enty thousand men, who were not in a con-
ion to fly, he thought of escaping himself,
go and provide for the body of his army,
ich, happily for him and them, had got
o Heropolis. This he likewise did after

about half an hour's defence, retiring by degrees to the hindermost ranks, under pretence of making them advance. These twenty thousand men were a victim to save the rest of their nation; and not one of them ever ask'd quarter. It is this custom which has render'd them invincible in their own country, and is the reason that Arabia has not yet submitted to the yoke of any foreign power. The moiety of Cheres's army, which was not come up at the time of the battle, was oblig'd to march over these dead bodies to get to Heropolis. Asares, when he enter'd the city, caus'd the gates to be shut; so that Cheres, who would not form any attack during the night, incamp'd under the walls with all his troops. The next morning he summon'd Asares to surrender the place. His answer was, that he had no design to keep it: But he entreated Cheres would suffer the gates to remain shut till the next day at that time, and then they should be open'd to him. Cheres, not to expose the inhabitants to any disaster from the desperate Arabians, granted them this delay, which his assault would but have made much longer. They imploy'd this time to reimbark: So it was the citizens themselves, who were left alone, that open'd the gates the next morning to the conqueror, and receiv'd him with great acclamations. They were the price of a victory, which

which the fruits of his fame had made him obtain so easily, and which was only owing to the long series of his foregoing labours.

As it was reasonable to think the counter-
feit Sethos would for ever abandon an enter-
prize, the first attempt of which had prov'd
so unfortunate; Cheres, being now on the
shore of the Red-sea, thought in earnest of
sending the islanders of Taprobane immedi-
ately back again. His first declaration of
his design threw them into an inexpress-
ible affliction. Accustom'd, as they had been
for ten whole years, to the conduct of the
wisest of chiefs, and the best of masters;
and even delighted with all the discoveries,
and all the victories of which they had par-
taken; returning into their own country
seem'd to them a falling into slavery, or con-
fining themselves to a prison. They sub-
mitted, however, to justice; and they con-
sider'd that they were now of no farther ser-
vice to Cheres, who was return'd into Egypt,
and had, in appearance, finish'd all his wars.
And with regard even to the assistance they
could be of to him, they had long since
hardly made up a tenth part of his fleet. The
recruits which had increas'd it, were prisoners
deliver'd at Sophir, some of the savages of
the new coasts, but chiefly the Phœnicians
which they had met with in the large colo-
nies they already had on the coasts of northern

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Africa. They were therefore only about three thousand men, for whom six vessels were sufficient to transport them home at their ease. And that was just the number the kings of Taprobane had furnish'd. But their vessels being left in the mouths of the Nile, near the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians were to restore them the same number, taken from some of the havens they had on the Red-sea. As they carry'd on a trade on both seas, they were accusom'd to these sorts of bar- ters, either among themselves, or with foreign merchants. But these islanders were first to be conducted to some haven in this sea, where the Phœnicians had a settlement, and they pitch'd upon the white Port, from whence the real Sethos had the first time left Egypt. The commanding officer of the fleet at Hero- polis offer'd the vessels of his harbour for their transport, if Cheres would procure the consent of the king of Tanis. This offer gave Cheres an opportunity of writing a let- ter to the king; in which he first acquainted him with the circumstances of his expul- sing the Arabians, and that the islanders of Tapro- bane had contributed to it jointly with the Phœnicians, in proportion to their number. And afterwards desir'd that the former might be transported to the White Port in ships which the king would have the goodness to lend them; and which should be immediately sent back again. The king return'd Cheres
a very

a very gracious answer. After having thank'd him for the important service he had just done him, he assured him, that he might command whatever his kingdom afforded; and even desiring him to order matters so, that the islanders of Taprobane might return as contented, if possible, with the king of Tanis, as with Cheres. He added, that after having dispos'd every thing for their departure, he hop'd Cheres would repair to his capital, to receive there the honours which were due to him, and even to take his residence there for good and all, if he had no higher or more agreeable views. Cheres, who could think of no place where he could more peaceably wait the succession to the kingdom of Memphis, when it fell; answer'd the king, that he would do himself the honour to accept of his goodness, till the service of Egypt, and especially of Memphis, his real country, might call him elsewhere. And he continued no longer at Heropolis than was necessary to determine the share which was due to the islanders of the riches of the fleet, which were sent for thither. He lastly gave them great recommendations and praises to their kings: and they, on their sides, assur'd him, that the only comfort they had at parting was, that they were going to publish his fame, and their gratitude throughout the whole east. They made room in the six vessels for some Ethiopians, who
were

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were to find some of their own at the White Port, whither they traded; and who departed with the same reluctance as the islanders. Immediately after their departure, Cheres sent the Egyptian troops into the quarters from whence they came, and with his own, march'd towards Tanis.

HIS design, without doubt, was not to lead them into the capital. But in his march thither he was to come to the canal of the Nile, where his vessels enter'd at their arrival, and thither it was he carry'd his army. There likewise he gave them in general, leave, either to return into Phœnicia, or to traffick, as they were accustom'd, in Egypt, or on the coasts of the two seas. In the mean time, as there were in this fleet, which was equally for trade and war, above ten thousand men, who either by inclination or fortune, were rather soldiers than traders; Cheres told these, That as hitherto there had been no proposals of peace made between Egypt and Arabia; and as they did not know whether the pretender to the crown of Memphis might not invade that kingdom, as he at first intended, he would advise the king of Tyre, that upon returning his troops, he reserv'd the freedom of requiring those again in case of this invasion alone. These ten thousand men, and even all the rest, in emulation of one another, answer'd, that they would back
this

this request with their desires and good offices. He concluded, by recommending to them the savages who were civiliz'd, and whom they took along with them; and all those whom he had made either vassals or associates on the coast of Africa. He himself recommended both to the king of Tyre in a long letter he wrote to him. It was receiv'd as it deserv'd, and all the articles it contain'd, granted or promis'd, with extraordinary marks of gratitude and great praises. In the meantime the Phœnicians, tho' they had a greater knowledge of the virtues of Cheres, and consequently were more devoted to him than the rest of the fleet, bore with greater patience a separation which they did not think would be long for them, and which besides left them in his neighbourhood. Thus this hero, without quitting his views to the throne, which was his right, depriv'd himself, however, of all those foreign succours; who, upon barely discovering his name, might then have plac'd him upon it by the glory of his fame, and the course of his reiterated successes. But he would not disquiet his father in his old age. He depended upon the favour of the nation after his decease; and he did not despair, but that appearing before him upon some remarkable occasion, he should overcome, even in his life-time, the unjust influence of the most insinuating, and most wicked of women.

As he was going to wait for this opportunity at Tanis, he was inform'd by some officers of that court, who accompany'd him on the road, that the kings of Egypt harbour'd some secret dissatisfaction among themselves against the king of Memphis. The administration of Daluca was the first cause of it. These kings ascrib'd to him, not without reason, the cause of the Arabian war, which threaten'd the whole nation; and they had taken a pernicious resolution, which, however, is but too common among princes, who are jealous one of the other, to let him suffer, at least, the first attack of the barbarians, without succouring him. It was likewise for that reason, added these officers, that Daluca, knowing their convention, had suffer'd the storm to fall upon Tanis, tho' so near, without stirring; and had even hinder'd her son Pemphos from going to the assistance of the princess Mnevia, notwithstanding his passion, which engag'd him in her behalf. Cheres answer'd them, that as having been a soldier of Memphis, he wish'd the expulsion of the Arabians might restore his king to the friendship of the kings his neighbours, which the fear of these foreign enemies had made him lose.

As the day Cheres was to arrive at Tanis was known, great preparations were made
for

for his entry. Not only the militia of the adjacent country, but the greater part of the citizens under arms, march'd in order almost three leagues to receive him, under sound of trumpets and kettle-drums. He rode the whole way between two files of soldiers, who kept off the people of the neighbouring towns and country, which an earnest desire of seeing him had drawn together from every part. They said to one another, that was he who was return'd from a new world, and had carry'd the laws of Egypt to unknown nations. Several of them ask'd the officers who follow'd, if the horse he rode on was the same which he had made use of in the rescuing of Carthage from an oppressor, and the Mauritania Tingitana from a tyrant? And upon a sign given, that it was, they ran with all their might to see the rider and the horse, a second time. Being come to the city, he pass'd a long and spacious street; in which, not to mention the great number of people, all the beauties of Tanis, plac'd either on scaffolds, or in the windows, devour'd him with their eyes, and indulg'd themselves in acclamations, justify'd by an universal example. Drawing nearer to the king's palace, which fac'd the gate he entered at a great distance; he observed upon the steps a lady, surrounded by a great number of others at some distance, and that she exceeded all the other
in

in the noble tallness of her stature. Not doubting but it was the princess, he alighted from his horse, as did likewise his whole retinue, and he walked some time before he could distinguish the features of her face. As she seem'd to wait his coming upon the steps, he mended his pace ; but she advancing insensibly, was got down to the lowest step, just as he came to the square : and tho' he then went yet faster, he could not hinder her from coming about a quarter of the way to meet him. He soon discovered a lady of a majestical and surprizing beauty, who waited till he arose from the deep reverence he made at accosting her, to put a crown of lawrels on his head. That action it was which made the first approach to his heart, and put him in mind of the last advice Amedes gave him. With respect to the princess, her ruling passion for merit and virtue, had long before engag'd her in favour of Cheres : and loving him already in some measure upon the credit of his fame, nothing new offered to her in this moment, but that she found his carriage and physiognomy worthy of his fame. Cheres taking her by the hand to lead her into the palace, saw the king who was advanc'd upon a large balcony follow'd by his courtiers. From thence he was sensible of the first marks of gratitude from this prince, and he receiv'd yet more from his

own

own mouth, when he was above with him. After several discourses and diversions, which succeeded one another during the course of the day, the king caus'd Cheres to be led into the apartment which he had prepared for him in the palace.

W H A T E V E R secret inclination Cheres and the princess might have been sensible of one for the other, from their first interview, and which was confirm'd by two months frequent conversation together, tho' always in publick ; the king was the first who thought of engaging this hero in his interest, by a marriage with his daughter. The independance of his throne, with which his thoughts were continually employ'd, seem'd to him better secur'd with a man, who he thought had no relations, than with a prince like Pemphos, who might become king by the death of his brother. But he deferr'd proposing this union to his daughter, till he had obtain'd from the other kings a title of honour for Cheres, to be given him by them all together, and which might supply in some measure the honour, which he believed he wanted in his birth. He propos'd to them by faithful and eloquent agents, to declare Cheres *Conservator of Egypt*. They represented in his name, that he had deserved this title by expelling the Arabians at his arrival ; and that it would inspire him

him with a new zeal against them, in case of their return, which they had reason to fear. They added, that it was for these kings actually to reward the great actions of an Egyptian, which other nations of the world could only do by their praises. They gave them, in short, to understand, that it was expedient for them to support, by an acknowledgment, which was easy, and even advantageous to them, the glory which this hero had acquir'd for Egypt by so many labours, as profitable to mankind as disinterested to himself. The kings of Thebes and This, believing this title to be of no consequence conferr'd on a man born a common soldier, as they believ'd Cheres to be, made no difficulty of granting it at the desire of the king of Tanis. They did not even imagine, that this title would be sufficient to engage Spanius, whom they knew to be jealous of the honour of his crown, to give his daughter to an unknown person. They therefore of themselves added to this title the function of *General of the Egyptian forces in foreign wars*. The king of Memphis, to whom the counterfeit Sethos had given disturbance, immediately approved both the title and the employ: but Daluca, who govern'd for him, was more apprehensive of the virtues of Cheres, than he was then of her vices. She made therefore several objections against this new dignity, and

and did not at length consent to it, but out of fear of seeing it given him without her approbation.

AMBASSADORS were sent to Spanius from all these kings, and they had concerted matters so, that they came at the same time. They had orders from their masters to thank him, for having thought of a title by which he made them all concur with him, in the same testimonies of esteem and gratitude with regard to Cheres. Addressing themselves next to him, they shew'd him the extent they gave to this new title, and the office annex'd to it. They beg'd of him to be contented with a dignity which began and would end in him. They observ'd, that the kings their masters, did not think it too great for a hero, who after having done so much honour to Egypt by his bare name, was come in person to render it so signal a service against the Arabians. But that in the very same circumstances, they should not have granted it to any one of a character different from his, and that it was to his virtue alone they confided it. That they, to conclude, believ'd, this same virtue would engage him to preserve that affection for his country, of which he had given evidences, before he had receiv'd any benefit from it, but his birth. Cheres answer'd, that it was for the king alone, who

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had requested this honour for him, to return those thanks which were due to the kings, who had granted it him with an addition. But that, notwithstanding the disposition he had always been in to shed his blood for his country; he hop'd that the union of the kings among one another, making Egypt formidable to foreign enemies, would render his new dignity a title without an employ; and that far from making an ill use, he wish'd he might never make any use at all of it.

THE time which pass'd during this negotiation, had been more than sufficient to kindle in the hearts of Cheres and Mnevia, a love more generous in the hero, and more tender in the princess. But the exquisite wisdom of both, had hindred them, for different reasons, not only from making any outward shew of it, but from having open'd their minds one to the other. However, the very next day after the publication of this title in Tanis, the king took his daughter in private, and told her, That tho', among the persons who had offered their addresses to her, there were some whom reasons of state would have oblig'd him to exclude; he never propos'd to force her to marry any one against her will, and that therefore it should be yet in her power to refuse the person he was now going to name; because

cause he believ'd, that she could not be happy but with a husband who was agreeable to both. The person I have now to propose to you, is the conservator of Egypt. The princess, after having told the king, that he would always have been secure of her obedience, with regard to whomever he might have offered her, thank'd him for the choice he had made ; insomuch that the king perceived he had nothing more to do, than to encourage Cheres in aspiring to his daughter.

HAVING therefore sent to him, and speaking with him alone, he told him, that the employ, which he was just rais'd to by all the kings of Egypt, was a reward for the service he had done the whole nation. But that his dynasty, his own person, and that of his daughter, having been deliver'd by his valour, as well from a future as a present danger, he thought himself oblig'd to give him a more peculiar reward ; and that he had none more precious to offer him, than that of his daughter. Cheres answer'd, that he was sensible of the king's generosity, in its utmost extent : That, however, he was much less affected with what would flatter the ambition of another in such a present, than with the freedom which he gave to the sentiments of his mind : and that, as unknown as he was, it was to that alone his

gratitude was answerable. But, my lord, continued he, as I know my father is yet living, tho' he don't think of finding me in the extraordinary adventures to which fortune hath led me, it is my duty to go to him to obtain his consent to a marriage, with which even kings would esteem themselves honour'd: For procuring of which, I only require a journey, which my own impatience will render very short. The king conceiv'd a new degree of esteem for Cheres upon this regularity of obedience, which he had not thought of; and he granted him a permission, which he thought convenient with respect to his daughter herself. In the mean time, it was agreed between the king, his daughter, and Cheres, that this new engagement should remain a secret till the latter returned. That he should conceal it, in particular from prince Pemphos, who had passed privately thro' Tanis some few days before Cheres arrived there; and who, tho' a lover of the princess, had however obtain'd no promise either from the king or her; especially, because queen Daluca seem'd to be then in a misunderstanding with them. Lastly, They resolved that Cheres should defer his journey for some days, to receive the first compliments from every order, upon his new title of conservator.

THE hopes of the two lovers, favour'd by that authority which render'd it lawful, gave way to a free scope of vows already form'd, but till then kept in the most severe reserve ; and even the innocence of their love rais'd it to a passion against which they suspected no obstacle. Mutually affected with the esteem due to the personal merit of each other, they rejoic'd, in private, at having wherewithal to advance the deserts of their beloved objects ; the princess with her crown plac'd upon the head of a man of fortune, and the unknown prince with a throne superior to that of Tanis, which he reckon'd soon to add to it.

NOTHING, however, could come up to the modesty of the princess in this regard. Finding in some measure her birth itself inferior to the glory of her lover, she could discourse with him on nothing but his heroick actions : she set such a value upon them, as the confus'd encomiums of the whole world could not express ; and which sometimes even awaken'd in this hero some natural motions of self-love. He knew no other way of return, but by a passion which left her no diffidence, whatever point the delicacy of her heart had attain'd to. One cloud, however, fill'd the mind of Mnevia with some affliction. It was the approaching ab-

fence of Cheres, which on the contrary rejoiced him, in hopes of returning, in every respect, and publickly worthy of such a bride.

HE was just upon his departure for this design only, when advices came from several parts, that the counterfeit Sethos, having obtain'd from the king of Meriaba a more mighty army than the former, waited only the entire fall of the Nile, which was already pretty far advanc'd, to come and attack the kingdom of Memphis. He had perswaded the Arabian king, that Cheres had disarm'd himself, by discharging the troops he had been ten years in forming, and that it was an impossibility for him to have the same service from the Egyptian militia, who during that whole time had not been employ'd in any considerable war.

THIS news doubled the impatience of Cheres to depart: And his duty being now combin'd with the interest of his love, he was intirely taken up in the preparations for a march as general of an army, whereas before he was only thoughtful how to gain admittance privately and alone into Oforoth's palace. But this circumstance increased the uneasiness of the princess on his departure. It is impossible to calm the apprehensions of a lady who truly loves, on the perils of a war; and the
valour

valour of Cheres seem'd no less hazardous to her than his remissness would have been. She told him at the last farewell, in which she had an opportunity of speaking to him alone, That the whole burden of love always fell upon her sex. That the service of his country, the preparations, and even dangers of war were for men so many diversions and alleviations in absence; while these very same objects were a burden to the repose and inactivity of a lady, in proportion to her fidelity and tenderness. Cheres, mov'd by this discourse, told her, that she embolden'd him to tender her an oath, which otherwise did not appear suitable to the honour to which she had reason to think his marriage rais'd him; which was to swear to her in the presence of the gods, never to marry any other but her. The princess seem'd satisfy'd with so formal an engagement; and under pretence that he was to depart very early the next morning, she thought it most proper not to see him again, to hide her tears.

BUT as they were upon the point of separating, the king came into the apartment where they had been discoursing. He told Cheres that he did not believe his exhortations of greater force than those of his daughter, to engage him to be careful of his life, and to hasten his return, as much

as the service of Egypt, and a concern for his glory would allow. That he had, however, his private motives to offer the same vows. That he would not have Cheres think he had all the obligation to him for the choice he had made of him for his son-in-law: And that in the irrevocable design he had form'd for the succession to his throne, not to bestow his daughter upon any one who could be king in his own right; Cheres was of all men the person, who with the greatest merit could otherwise best accomplish this view. Cheres, struck with this declaration, as with a clap of thunder, had enough to do to conceal the disorder of his mind. He endeavoured to cover it under an excess of gratitude and modesty, which so flattering an explication might justify. He succeeded with respect to the king; but the eyes of a mistress are by far more penetrating; and Mnevia, only by the confusion she had perceiv'd in Cheres, was extremely afflicted at this exception of her father, which she knew nothing of before. Cheres not yet knowing what resolution to take on this cruel event, hasten'd to get away, by taking his last leave of the king and the princess, instead of giving an answer.

HAVING immediately sought a retirement for some moments, he began by accusing himself of being fallen into this passion,

sion, so fatal to the most virtuous heroes, and of which he had a recent example in Gifcon. Who, cry'd he, will extricate me from the abyss out of which I have drawn this happy friend? I am already bound by an oath, not stronger, but more sacred than my love itself; and I aspire to the scepter of Memphis, which I have rashly believ'd I might combine with that of Tanis. I have nothing to do but to abandon this scepter. But what ignominy am I going to cover myself with; if, king in my own right of the second dynasty of Egypt, I reduce myself by marriage to be king of the lowest; or, to say better, if I become the chief subject to my wife? I will go to Memphis, continued he, time and place will farther enlighten me. Strengthen, in the mean time, O ye just gods! the resolution with which you this moment inspire me, to guide myself in every circumstance according to the laws of honour and virtue, whatever may be the consequence of it. The first of these laws is without doubt now to fulfil the function my country has honour'd me with, and for the sake of that, to suspend all the troubles of my mind and heart. He follow'd this resolution instantly, and, becoming quite another man in appearance, than he really was in his mind, he began by making the troops defile, which he took of the militia of Tanis, giving them orders to which province

vince of the kingdom of Memphis they should repair. He dispatch'd likewise messengers, by virtue of his charge, to assemble the soldiers of Thebes and This, which he took from the frontiers of these two kingdoms, that they might have the less way to march, and he gave them the same rendezvous. After which he departed himself, accompany'd by such officers as were agreeable to his dignity.

CHERES, upon coming into the city, where he had taken his birth and education, could not forbear being mov'd to compassion on his own account. This compassion was soon afterwards remov'd, on the difference he thought he perceiv'd in the exterior of the houses and citizens, which seem'd to labour under the length of a cruel and unjust administration. Passing through the streets, he received all the homage which the zeal of the people had left them masters of. But the queen had retrench'd almost all she could of the ceremonies, which were dependant on her. However, as, without speaking of his title as conservator, the militia was under the command of the general; the officers, whom he had met with on his way, made a great train, which follow'd him to the square where the king's palace was.

THE bare approach of Cheres, had already caus'd an extraordinary shock in the mind of Oforoth. The virtue of this hero, more famous yet than his exploits, gave him an extream distaste of the deprav'd intentions, and pernicious conduct which he had long observ'd in Daluca, and which he only bore out of custom and indolence. O, said he, if Cheres were my son instead of the rebel Sethos, with how much pleasure would I restore him to the succession of my throne! And as he is, how much easier would the fate of my two sons be, under his tuition, than under that of their own mother! In this state of mind, which grew more vigorous when he heard Cheres was at the gate of his palace, he sent and desired he would come alone to him into his closet. At his entrance, he threw himself on one knee, between the arms of his father, who sitting, stretch'd them out to receive him. Virtuous and brave Cheres, said his father to him, raising him up; You probably think there is some room to reproach me for the troubles I have brought upon my kingdom, and upon all Egypt, by the, perhaps, too flighting answer I gave my eldest son, when he let me know he was yet alive. But besides that after having prov'd his existence, he might, by being with me, in time have been restor'd to all his rights; the injurious answer, which with-

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out doubt you know he sent me, and which he immediately back'd by an open war, now prove, that notwithstanding the hopes of his early youth, I had given my subjects a wicked king, had I declar'd him my successor. I confess, that after the example of the fatal night at Coptos, the very name of Daluca might, with reason, deter him from returning to my palace; and that having since been so weak to recall this woman from the exile I had enjoyn'd her, my eldest son had yet reason to be apprehensive of her in these latter times, in which he propos'd his return. But the compulsion he would lay me under to banish her, had something so audacious and insolent in it, that he himself put me out of a condition to execute it. In a word, you see I am confin'd, if I could wish otherwise, to the two sons I have had by Daluca. I won't conceal it from you, they are the sole object of my affection. I please myself with the hopes, you will in time find them worthy of your friendship too. They deserve it at least, by the great esteem and admiration they both have of your virtues, tho' as yet they know you no otherwise than by fame. The eldest of the two, whom I design for my throne, is in this palace. He is very seldom out of my sight, and has never been beyond the limits of my kingdom. The youngest, being of a more active genius, and given to curiosity, has already travell'd
much;

much; and if he had not been fearful of disobliging his mother, had long since been with you; since he has confess'd at his return from his last travels, that he had been at places not far distant from those where you were: but he hardly staid a single day this time at Memphis, before he departed for the coasts of the Red-sea, to defend them against the invasion of Sethos, and there he now is. It is not without a reason, brave Cheres, that I descend to these particulars with you. I shall not even conceal from you, that this woman, who was the occasion of my losing my eldest son, when he was the most worthy of my love, is the same that I principally fear, with regard to my two other sons, who are her own; and against her it is I entreat your protection for them, when I am no more. I am not so blind, but I perceive that all the zeal she shews, especially with regard to prince Beon her eldest, is affected, principally with a view to preserve the sovereign power in her own hand: and I foresee, that she will abuse it yet farther, towards my subjects, by the blind submission of my son, than she has hitherto done under the frailty of her husband. Inspire my son, by your counsels, with a vigilance and resolution, which I wanted in more advanc'd years, and which my age renders me incapable of, now I better know the importance of it, and my own duty. Extend your generous

nerous friendship to the prince his brother, whose fortune with other kings, our neighbours, she hinders, by the frequent subjects of complaints she gives them. She even now keeps in suspense an advantageous passion, which young Pemphos will give you a better account of than I can, when the orders of war will call him to your presence. In a word, as I ought to trust no longer to my own choice, it is by the suffrage of the publick, wise Cheres, that I have chosen you to be the guardian and father of my two sons. Tho' the title of *conservator of Egypt* gives you a function of greater extent, I presume to hope the interest of the kingdom of Memphis, your own country, will have some degree of preference in your mind.

My lord, answer'd Cheres, There is no man in the world, however barbarous, but whom a confidence like to this you honour me with, would inspire with a zeal for the two princes your sons. Sethos himself would become the protector of his brothers, whom he has hitherto look'd upon as his rivals: judge, my lord, what impression your discourse has made on a man who has given such proofs of his loyalty, as have engag'd you and the kings your neighbours to name him conservator of Egypt. The king, who had ordered prince Beon to attend at the
door

door of his closet, then heard a slight noise without, which inform'd him of his being come. He therefore ordered him to open the door ; and the prince being come in, Cheres made him, in a general, but very lively manner, all the protestations of love and service which he could expect from him. The young prince received them with great marks of gratitude, and likewise with that respect which drew upon Cheres a reputation, that supplied in the mind of every one, the place of his unknown birth.

As soon as Cheres was alone with his brother, he told him, that in a war which threatned the inward parts of the kingdom, and was levelled at the person of the king, he thought a son, destin'd by his father to the succession, should take to arms himself, and give proofs of his valour. Beon answer'd, That the very first news of a war had inspired him with this thought and resolution. That he had several times since attempted to obtain the consent of his mother to go and cover the frontiers of the kingdom, at least till the return of his brother, who was then travelling in foreign countries ; but that she had always oppos'd his design, by representing how necessary it was for him to remain with his father, to be the comfort of his old age ; and the need she herself stood in of the only son she had

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had then in Egypt, to keep up a friendship between her husband and her. She added, that she had taken care to have the coasts of the Red-sea, in the whole extent of the kingdom of Memphis, supplied with commanders and officers more capable of defending it than I am: in a word, if her entreaties were not sufficient to stop me, she laid an express command upon me not to go out of the walls of the city as long as the war lasted. Cheres replied, that publick duties ought to take place of domestick compliances. That he should above all things remember, a king was subject to none, but to the invisible Lord of the world. But that likewise, it is to him he must be accountable with the greater severity for the injustice he allows, as the persons, who commit it are the more nearly allied to him: and that, with regard to men, the crimes he tolerates in his relations add contempt to the hatred which he would incur by committing them himself. These reflexions, my lord, are proper for another time. You have now a king, and a father, sollicite him to allow you the liberty of going along with me. This permission alone will, under the present junctures, justify your neglect of the too partial commands of a mother. The young prince having made this request to the king, Oforoth granted it him upon the confidence he had in Cheres,

and

and yet more on the value he set upon his advice.

THE conservator, who prepared to depart without delay, went to find the queen ; and speaking to her in a tone which shewed neither haughtiness nor submission, he told her, That being solicitous to inspire the kings of Egypt with a zeal of mutually supporting one another against foreign enemies ; he had brought ten thousand men with him from Tanis, or, at least, had ordered them their posts whither they would repair in the eastern parts of the kingdom of Memphis : That he had already taken his measures to have as many from each of the other dynasties : And besides that, as he could not refuse ten thousand Phœnicians, who offer'd their service, and who now were in the harbours they had on the Red-sea ; he had forty thousand men auxiliaries, who would be paid by their own kings. That therefore, as he did not propose to have more than one hundred thousand men regular troops, he wanted only sixty thousand of the militia of Memphis. The queen answered, that she had sent a greater number to the sea-coasts of the kingdom, and that she would therefore give orders to recall part of them. Cheres replied, that tho' he would not employ them in the field, he would make use of them to recruit the garrisons, which were already on the sea-shore, or

place them in those inland towns, where they might have occasion for them. But that he beg'd of her not to let the ammunitions and provisions be wanting, which he himself should have the honour of desiring from her by his messengers.

THE queen, who was secretly offended at a discourse, by which Cheres gave to understand he perceived her wicked intentions, but was more enrag'd that he carried her son with him, dissembled however these first vexations, which seem'd to her to be the forerunners of greater. She was contented with saying, that he would do well only to address himself to her; and that this caution was of importance, especially if any misfortune should happen in the campaign; because it would be better to have the affairs of war, or of the whole kingdom go ill, than to give the king any disturbance. Cheres gave no answer to a discourse like this; and when he left her, reflected, that it was possible to know how far the wickedness of certain ministers went, but that it was impossible to guess at the caprice of their views and arguments.

CHERES, when he left her apartment, took the opportunity of the evening to go privately into the college of the priests:

That

That was the only place where he could indulge himself freely, after having conceal'd his name and birth for ten whole years together. The priests, who all knew him, by means of the two who had attended him in his voyages, and whom he had sent before-hand into their college, receiv'd him with a joy which they alone could amply possess. They carry'd him immediately into the inmost part of their sanctuary, where, notwithstanding the present emotions of his mind, he resolutely renew'd all the vows of his initiation: There likewise they restor'd him the initiates vest, which, however, he long conceal'd under his accoutrements of war. At his going out from thence he open'd to them the whole state of his mind. They began to have a concern for him; when he rais'd them to the highest pitch of admiration, by the heroick designs he had projected in relation to his two brothers. They look'd upon his intentions as a glorious resolution of the disorders into which love is capable of throwing the greatest of men. They afterwards contributed all that was in their power to compose his mind, during the two or three hours he stay'd with them; at last, just as he was going to depart, they shew'd him his casket, which they had at first offer'd him, but which he look'd upon as the least worth his consideration. Death had taken

away the high-priest, to whom he had written from Taprobane, to reimburse the sums he had borrow'd of the priests he found in that island, out of the precious stones which were contain'd in it. But his successor shew'd him the key ty'd to a ring just as he had left it. He rather blam'd than thank'd them for this generosity ; and having open'd it, he made them take the payment of this first debt in that coin : but he added, That not confiding too much in the queen's regularity in supplying the expences of the war he was about to undertake ; he desired them to furnish him upon the same pledge the sums he might require of them. As this casket contain'd a real treasure, Cheres could make such advances without impoverishing himself. He lastly took the late queen his mother's ring, tho' he did not design as yet to put it on his finger ; and having taken leave of them, returned to the palace. As the courtiers knew that Cheres had been admitted alone into the king's and queen's closets, they suppos'd he would be employ'd the whole day in affairs of state, and that he would not be to be seen or spoken with but at the assembly, which was held after the king's supper. But then, in this expectation, the assembly was exceeding numerous. Cheres immediately distinguished there in the place of honour, the princess, wife to prince Beon.

Beon, because the king and queen were absent. This prince took a pleasure himself to lead the conservator up to her. He was surpriz'd at the apparent likeness which he perceiv'd in her to the late queen Nephte, his mother, as much as he could remember of her, or his ring that he had just taken, in which she was represented, could bring to his mind. Beon likewise told him, that she was the daughter of the then reigning king of This, and consequently niece to the late queen of Memphis. Upon which Cheres admired by how many incidents the gods seem'd to encourage him in fulfilling the resolution he had taken, and which was to come to light in due time. In the mean while, the princess, who just began to shew some signs of pregnancy, receiv'd Cheres at first in as gracious and favourable a manner as her real opinion of him suggested. But she afterwards added a tender reproach, that he was going to rob her of her husband, who had resolved to follow him to the war. Cheres, observing the tears just starting in her eyes, spoke a little lower, and told her, that if she would do him the honour of two or three moments with the prince the next day, he hoped he would make this short absence agreeable to her herself. This meeting being appointed, the princess left Cheres in a very handsome manner to the conversation of the whole

assembly, to whose curiosity he gave satisfaction, with so much readiness and courtesy, as drew as many encomiums upon him as the things themselves which he related.

HE employ'd all the next morning in the affairs of his function, and in preparing every thing to depart the following day: but a little before noon he went, according to appointment, to the princess's apartment, where he found prince Beon. He had no great difficulty in making this princess conceive, that both honour and duty required her husband's going to the war, and he himself had already disposed her to it. But she said, that during his absence, she would retire to the priestesses in the sacerdotal palace; and that she had already obtained their consent to take her lodging there the next night. Her consort still persuaded her to enjoy the diversions of the court: yet she persisted resolutely that she would have no other till his return, but his letters, and the conversation of the priestesses. Cheres very much approv'd of her design; and to concur with this virtuous princess, he told her, that he relied very much upon her prayers to the deities during her retreat, for the success of their undertaking. At leaving them, he continued to hasten his preparations. He made the prince acquainted with the most considerable; and he

he found in him a disciple very attentive to the reasons and motives which he gave him for his different schemes.

EVERY thing being ordered in such manner, that he had the remainder of the evening, and the following night free, he found means to be alone to write to the princess of Tanis. He advis'd her in substance, That on account of some circumstances which were not uncommon among persons under military obligations; he was not able to obtain an interview with his father, till the conclusion of a campaign, which he flattered himself with the hopes of terminating in a very short time. But that these obstacles themselves, this delay, and the consequences of the victory which he implored of the gods, made the idea of Mnevia yet more present and more precious to him, than when he had the honour of discoursing with her every day. In short, that since his departure, he had new motives for seeing her again without delay. Here he finish'd his letter, without having employ'd any of those terms that are familiar to love, which was not so much as mentioned in it. The next morning, a little before sun-rise, he departed from Memphis with prince Beon, and some troops which he had reserved for their particular retinue.

THE chief view which Cheres had in this renew'd war, was to take the impostor alive. His design was not to put off the discovering of himself longer than his return from the campaign, tho' even he should not succeed in this particular: but tho' he had evidences of the truth of his condition in the testimony of the priests who had accompanied him, and in his character of initiate, which were not applicable to any other, but to him; he look'd upon the confronting and forc'd confession of the impostor, when seiz'd, as a desirable circumstance to give a greater lustre to his manifestation. After having pass'd on the other side of the great island form'd by the Nile, to the east of Memphis, which contains the nome called the Nilopolitan; he stop'd at a place in every respect very convenient, situate at about twenty leagues distance from Memphis, and ten leagues from the Red-sea. He thought proper to encamp there, with the few troops he had carried with him, and those which were already arriv'd from Tanis, as the main center or rendezvous of his army. Leaving afterwards Beon with the title of commander, and assisted by the counsel of some able officers whom he had formerly known, but who did not know him; he left directions for him to receive, and dispose in the quarters
he

he, had mark'd out, the auxiliary troops which were yet to come. After which, he went, with a very small attendance, towards the sea-shore, to visit the coast, and to get, if possible, with his own eyes, some knowledge of the enemy's fleet.

IT was natural for him to begin this visitation by the place where Pemphos was incamp'd; and the more, as this prince had chosen that part of the shore which had the fewest forts, and where the nature of the ground made a landing easiest. His tent was on the brink of the shore, and was furrounded at some distance by an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. His mother, to alleviate the troubles she otherwise gave him, had bestow'd the title of general upon him, subject however to a council: but the vivacity of this young prince, and the experience he had gain'd in his travels, which he knew how to employ to the best advantage, had already chang'd this honorary title into a real one. Nevertheless, as soon as he had notice of the conservator's being come to the outermost of his lines, he sent a deputation to him, by which he let him know, that, not thinking it proper to leave his post so near the approaching night, he waited for him, to deliver up the command at the entrance into his tent. The conservator sent him for answer, That he begg'd he would stay

stay for him in his tent, and likewise receive him there alone ; for that it was necessary for him to confer with him immediately, and to take his advice for the management of this war.

CHERES had not so little penetration, but he judg'd, by a great number of circumstances, which the reader may have observ'd, that the prince he was going to visit was the same Pammus who came to seek him near Carthage : but as he perceiv'd that Pemphos had thought proper to conceal from his mother the acquaintance they already had with one another, he resolv'd to pursue this privacy to the end. And thus they saluted one another at the entrance into the prince's tent, as two persons who had no other knowledge of one another but by their rank and names : but being instantly left alone, Pemphos, full of respect and gratitude for his master in point of war, as well as of love for the princess of Tanis, began to open his heart to Cheres, as to a man who, he judg'd, had without concern seen the object of his vows. He gave a particular account of the injustice of his mother, who, by her continual animosities against the kings her neighbours, had hinder'd him from going to offer his assistance to the princess Mnevia, in the late invasion of the Arabians. I was easy (added he) with respect

spect to her, because she had a much mightier protector in you ; but I am inconsolable with regard to my self. Cheres laid hold of the first interval which the rapidity of this young lover's discourse left him, to say to him ; My lord ! The princess Mnevia is inform'd of your zeal, and she don't attribute to you the ill management of queen Daluca : but you must finish the conquest of her heart, by fulfilling the duties your country lays you under here ; and deserve her, by preferring, even to her, at this time, the service of Memphis, which, in all appearance, is soon going to be invaded. Oh ! too virtuous Cheres, (reply'd Pemphos) how happy are you, in being superior to all the frailties of nature ! It is indeed my intention to perform here the functions you shall enjoin me : but then, at the conclusion of this campaign, it will surely be time for me to gather the fruits of three years perseverance. I, without hesitation, perform'd the condition which Mnevia laid upon me, to go and learn experience from you. I have, probably, no reason to repent of it, and you seem'd to be satisfy'd with me. I presume even to hope, that your compassion and humanity, the most shining of your virtues, will be assistant to me in a passion so fervent, and so cross'd, as mine is. Cheres answer'd him ; You may continue the hopes, but banish the disturbance,

disturbance, to give yourself wholly up to the duties of war. Let us begin this very moment to confer on that subject. Upon that, he inform'd him of his design of taking their enemy alive. He made him sensible, that a meer revolution of attacks and repulses would eternally keep up in the minds of all men the idea of a pretender, which would cause a perpetual uneasiness to the successors to the crown of Memphis. But, (said Pemphos) supposing him taken and known; Will it not be requisite for my brother to give place to him? Or, what would yet be worse; Mayn't the army or people take upon them to constrain him to it? I will answer for the event, (said Cheres) and engage he shall not displace your brother. Let us only consider of the means to accomplish our design. The guard you keep here upon the coast is very proper to hinder the enemy's landing: but as it brings matters to no decision, it will never have an end. 'Tis a great evil but to be kept long in suspense, and to be tired with expectation. The Arabians, without stirring out of their own country, may, by false rumours, lay you under an obligation of doing the same thing every year. Let us take advantage of their design, which is now manifest by the appearance of their vessels, to decoy them by our retreat; and let us make a shew of fear, to encourage thei

their landing. Pemphos consented with joy to this advice ; which he dar'd not have undertaken himself, for fear of being blam'd by the court.

THE next day the conservator sent to demand the ten thousand Phœnician horse, who waited his orders in a colony very nearly adjoining, and who departed immediately for the general rendezvous. He next took measures with Pemphos, to distribute one part of his troops, which were superfluous, in some of the neighbouring towns, to leave the plain free, which was pretty desert, and led from the shore to the camp where he left Beon. He appointed Pemphos commander of these supernumerary troops, as well as of the garrisons in the maritime towns, to make use of them when the enemy was landed, and advanced towards the plain. He, at the same time, made the troops of the main army, which he design'd for his camp, begin their march. And as the Arabian vessels did not seem to be yet together, he return'd with them thither, and found the troops which he had expected both from Thebes and This. Having made them pass in review, and being assur'd of the number of the troops he had reckon'd upon, he return'd again to the sea-side, where he had left only about twelve thousand men, with their tents standing.

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AT last, at the end of five or six days, and the day following a night in which Pemphos had been to inform him of the preparations he had made in the neighbouring ports; they discover'd at break of day, a formidable fleet, which seem'd preparing for a descent. The conservator having sent the prince back again to his post, broke up his camp of twelve thousand men in the sight of the enemy, with such a hurry as had all the appearance of fear and flight. The soldiers had orders to throw down their tents, but not to carry them away, and to march immediately after him to the general rendezvous. He likewise order'd them to strew some arms and baggage in the way, as is common with troops who retire in confusion. His measures were, however, taken in such manner, that whatever diligence the fleet might use in landing, the twelve thousand men would be at least three hours before them. But as the Arabians met with no opposition either on the shore or on their march, and taking advantage of a moonlight night, the very rear of their army was, by midnight, three or four leagues from the shore. Pemphos waited 'till they were all pass'd, to march again to the shore with sixty thousand men, which he had soon got together, and which instead of hindering, as before, the enemy from landing, were
 now

now to prevent their returning. But this young prince, to deserve the good opinion of Cheres, whom he thought he should stand in need of, had propos'd an expedition as bold as important, to which the conservator had never thought of engaging him; and which, however, was executed that same night, with all the courage and good success that could be expected: It was what he had been to give him an account of the foregoing night, as a thing which was concerted. From the day Cheres had inform'd him of his design of letting the Arabians land in Egypt, he had thoughts of setting fire to their vessels as soon as their men were on shore. Notwithstanding all the objections Cheres made; he persisted so strenuously on the activity with which the Egyptian and Phœnician sailors manag'd their little barks in the festivals they had been us'd to celebrate on the sea since his absence, that he made him sensible it would be a sport to them to pass and repass between the enemies vessels, and even to avoid all the darts they might lance at them. He added, that the vessels being almost empty would make little or no defence, and that the hatred of their merchants and fishermen toward the Arabian pyrates would furnish them with all the courage and industry necessary for the exploit. Cheres submitted to these reasons. And as the moon set at midnight, Pemphos commanded himself

self three hundred little barks loaded with combustible matters. They found means, without being discover'd, to come up to a fleet of two hundred vessels, each of which had a lanthorn, that serv'd only to give light to their enemy. A general conflagration soon follow'd, from which hardly three or four vessels escap'd, to carry the news to Arabia, of a disaster by so much the more unlucky, as it foreboded the fate of the troops which were landed, tho' these fugitives knew no circumstances of it. But as soon as Pemphos had by his presence secur'd the success of the undertaking, he return'd to partake of the end of this spectacle upon the shore, waiting 'till the defeat of the Arabians by the conservator's army sent him other fugitives back again, and gave him an opportunity of completing their destruction with his troops.

ASARES, who knew the country, would have been glad to have left these desert places for the pastures of Egypt, which would have likewise brought him nearer the capital whither he directed his views. The rashness he might reproach himself with was ballanc'd by the advantage of the surprize which he would cause to the enemy: and the number of his troops, which exceeded one hundred and twenty thousand men, encourag'd him against the oppositions which he likewise expected. Nevertheless, the fight of an army

my in battle-array, at the front of which he perceiv'd himself at day-break, surpriz'd him extremely. It was likewise there no longer an open plain, which allow'd of dispersing his army or moving to the right, or to the left. The conservator, who had had the choice of his ground, was posted in a place where the way narrow'd into a very long road, which was every where about three hundred feet broad, bounded on one side by a hill of a middling height, and on the other by an arm of the Nile. This road had likewise the advantage, that it turn'd a little towards the north, or towards Memphis; and therefore his soldiers would not have the rising-sun in their faces. A more unlucky inconveniency for Asares was, that thinking it most proper to be in motion the whole night, to save his army a march of ten leagues in the heat of the sun, upon a sandy ground, and without any shelter; his troops, tho' tir'd and disorder'd, were to encounter an army which was fresh and in good order, excepting the twelve thousand men, whom the conservator had caus'd to march behind the rear of his army, and who likewise did not enter into action. Cheres endeavour'd always to give his soldiers these sorts of advantages: and his maxim was, that a general deserv'd much more the name of a great commander, by rendring a victory easy, than by gaining another which he had suffer'd to

be made difficult. So, without giving time to the Arabians to come to themselves, Cheres order'd his Phœnician cavalry to give the onset, supported by his whole army. He kept prince Beon continually near him, whom he would not expose either to more or less dangers than he did himself. The counterfeit Sethos, calling all the experience he had to his assistance, left his chief officers orders to sustain the assault as long as they could with about ten thousand men, retiring only by little and little; while he rode full speed to put the troops as they arriv'd successively into order of battle. Then returning to within a good half league, and making a sign to those he met to return with him, he form'd his first lines in a place of the same road, with the troops which were already got thither, and he afterwards strengthened them with others as they came up. Those whom he had employ'd to withstand the impetuosity of the Egyptian army defended themselves so well, that they did not retreat to him 'till he had got a very numerous body together. He had likewise had the foresight to reserve a place for them, where they rang'd themselves. Then it was that hopes on one side and despair on the other produc'd mutual endeavours of distinguish'd valour. As Asares continually receiv'd fresh troops, he long went thro' the double labour of ranging in order of battle and combating. In the

perils to which he expos'd himself he fancy'd that the enemy's soldiers were assiduous to spare his person : and he took the advantage of it to carry his orders on every side with greater boldness than before. He could not indeed make a better use of his conjecture. But seeing, that notwithstanding all his cares, the slaughter, which for a little while was equal on both sides, increas'd more and more on the side of the Arabians, a rage blinded in one sense, and well-grounded in another, led him towards Cheres ; in the confus'd idea that it was of yet greater importance to him, to deprive him, if he could, of his speech and life, than it was of importance to Cheres to save him for an odious examination. Upon which, flattering himself with the hopes of an advantageous combat for him, even from the design of his adversary, he approach'd insensibly towards Cheres at the beginning of the close fight. While the conservator was looking stedfastly the other way, he was just going to give him a blow with his sabre in the opening between his helmet and his cuirass, which would have taken off his head, if prince Beon, who perceiv'd it in time, had not interpos'd his buckler, and receiv'd the blow ; which was so violent, that this prince lost the use of his left arm for three days ; though he would not take notice of it to any one 'till after the conclusion of the battle, which

became so much the more dangerous to him, as he continued to use his sword without being able but to lift up his defensive arm. But Cheres, being warn'd by the edge of the buckler, which graz'd pretty hard along his arm, saw at the same time the danger and the relief. Then making use of his wonderful horse, he made him rear up on the side of that of Asares. This creature falling upon the rider with his two fore-legs, made him tumble, by the weight of his own body, on the other side of the saddle. The conservator gave immediately orders to three of his officers, in whom he could confide, to lift him up and convey him to the rear of his camp, where he commanded him to be confin'd alone, without speaking to him, or suffering him to speak to any one.

THE Arabians having lost their general, studied only to save themselves by flight, and they mutually exhorted one another to retreat, and imbark in their vessels, never to return to Egypt again. But what was their surprize, when being got hardly half their way, they met the army of Pemphos marching easily up towards them! Their officers endeavour'd to inspire them with a new vigour, by the necessity they saw themselves reduc'd to, of removing this obstacle, to come at their only refuge, their vessels. There they underwent a second slaughter, which gave time to the conservator's army to advance

advance within fight of the other, and by inclosing them, to put them out of all hopes of saving a single man. They continued, however, to defend themselves, according to the custom of their country, which forbid their surrendring, and only allow'd of a flight, which was likewise one of their methods of combating ; but which could not take place here either as a combat or a relief. In the mean time, the conservator and Pemphos, who knew his mind, were not only weary of killing, but took pity of the conquer'd. The latter therefore caus'd his people on all sides to cry out, Their vessels were burnt ; and thereby, at the same time, let Cheres himself know, that his design was executed, of which till then he had no account. At this news, the Arabians stood motionless, and the slaughter ceasing instantly, they suffer'd themselves to be disarm'd without saying a word. Thus, following the example given in former times by their ancestors, these wretches, who remain'd yet alive, of one hundred and twenty thousand men, furnish'd the Egyptians this time with sixty thousand slaves. Pemphos took upon him to distribute them in the maritime towns, till their country-men came to redeem them. After which, he return'd to the conservator's camp, who was got thither before him. Cheres having from thence dispatch'd all his troops

to their respective homes with commendations and proper rewards, after three days prepar'd to return to the capital with the two princes, follow'd by the officers and companies, which their rank more particularly devoted to them three.

DURING this time, the princess Mnevia was abandon'd to all the uneasiness which absence and uncertainty could cause in a heart given up to love. The last farewell of Cheres, who was so fervent in the oath he had made her, and so confounded at her father's discourse, was a riddle she could not unfold. The publick assent which he seem'd to give to the name the impostor took, added to the difficult enquiry after an unknown father, or one who did not know him, kept her at as great a distance, as the rest of the world, from the explication she coveted. Being confidently assur'd of the virtue of her lover, that very virtue persuaded her of a passion which he never could have feign'd: But, said she, if any unknown secret should render this passion unlawful; oh, I am but too sure his virtue would be inflexible. Taking then Cheres's letter, and perusing it again, tho' she had already imprinted it in her mind; she comforted herself by the assurance of a remembrance which he call'd precious, and the promise of a hasty return: But she was astonish'd

nish'd at his serious and wary stile, which a marriage almost concluded did not seem to require.

NOT being able to support herself longer under these uneasinesses, she entertain'd the thoughts of consulting the priests of Heliopolis, the most renown'd in Egypt for divination. This city likewise belong'd to the dynasty, to which she was heiress, and was situated opposite to Memphis, pretty near to the eastern bank of the Nile, at the place of its greatest breadth. This was a comfort to Mnevia's imagination, tho' she could make no more advantage of it with respect to Cheres, than if she had been separated from him by the ocean. Some days after she had receiv'd his letter, she propos'd her design to Spanius, disguising it, however, under the notion of a retirement, which she was desirous of, after the example of the princess of Memphis, to the priestesses of Heliopolis, that she might implore the gods to bless the intentions of the king her father on her marriage. The king, who was always ready to comply with her desires, granted this request, and he gave her a proper retinue of ladies, and attendants, who were to wait for her in the city whither she was going, till she left the sacerdotal palace. Among these ladies was one who had been the princess's nurse, and to whom she open'd her

mind; and to be the easier during her journey, she took her in her chariot, which was made only for two persons. As soon as the princess was arriv'd, the high-priest, follow'd by five others, and the like number of priestesses, receiv'd her, but alone, with the respect due to their future queen. They even call'd her from that time princess-queen, as all the natural heiresses of every kingdom in Egypt were nam'd. They led her immediately thro' their college into the temple of the sun, from which Heliopolis was nam'd. It was at that time not open to the people; and there she implor'd the gods to bring on the day in which her mind should be at ease. Being afterwards enter'd into an apartment adjoining to the temple, she told those who accompany'd her, that she was come to consult their profound science on a future event, upon which depended the fortune or misfortune of her life. The priests, who perfectly knew the dispositions of human minds, saw instantly what was the case; and by the circumstance of Cheres's sojourn at Tanis, they easily dived into a secret, which the conduct of the two lovers, and the great knowledge they had of the world, had conceal'd from every body. The high-priest answer'd her, that with relation to her design, they would leave her alone with the priest who was chief of the divinations, and with the confident, whom she might choose out of the six priestesses who were

were then with her. The princess pitch'd upon one whom she had known at Tanis a little before the arrival of Cheres in that city. The high-priest added, that to merit a knowledge of the decrees of fate, she must conform herself for twelve days to every advice given her by the chief of the divinations; and that she would be exhorted to it by the priestess-confident, who would never leave her either by day or night.

THEY made her begin immediately by a rigid fast, as to eating; but they render'd it more easy by delicious liquors; in which, as we have before observ'd, were mixed soporiferous drugs. The priest and priestess fasted in the same manner as she did, excepting, that they made use of other liquors which were more nourishing. She did not conceal from her two guides the state of her mind, and the several circumstances of the passion which disquieted her, that their answers might be the more precise. In general, the manner with which they treated their consulters at Heliopolis, as well with regard to the body as the mind, brought them by degrees to an almost involuntary discovery of all their secrets. But, besides, she had not been a day and a night in the temple, but by the advice of the chief of the divination, who was not so continually with her as the confident, the priests of Memphis had already been consulted concerning

concerning the state of the real Sethos. Whatever disputes the priests of Egypt had, or pretended to have among themselves concerning the worship of their several deities, they mutually assisted one another with a wonderful zeal in the article of divination, to whichever of the twelve chief temples the consulters apply'd themselves : And they were sensible what prejudice they should do themselves, if they did not stand by their brethren in an art which depended upon conjecture.

THE next day, the priest and the priestess began by conducting the princess thro' subterraneous passages, and in a chariot, to the Elysian fields, much the same as those we have describ'd of Memphis. The way they led their consulters was at least as long as that of Memphis ; but it was thro' the walks of a labyrinth, which they did not perceive, and along which innumerable lamps gave light on every side to boxes of myrtles and oranges, till they came after a long space of time, to a place adjoining to the temple from whence they departed. There they let the princess see, at a certain distance, shews, or scenes of happy or unfortunate lovers, which they pretended were the souls of those whose histories they related. When she was weary of walking or standing, they led her into arbours ; where, finding couches, she began to slumber. Then melodious voices, accompany'd

company'd with instruments, (tho' none appear'd to fight) sung verses, in which the charms and delights of love were compar'd, with the dangers and inconveniencies of it. But as soon as she open'd her eyes, all ceas'd; and she shut them again, to hear the same harmony a second time.

THUS it was, that during the whole time of the preparations, which were longer or shorter according to the circumstances, they kept their consulters in a continual suspense, especially those who were led thither by the uneasinesses of love. We must likewise confess, that whereas the priests of Memphis, who were more precise in their morals, employ'd only smoothness of expression and force of reasoning as remedies for unhappy passions; those of Heliopolis, on the contrary, the better to assert the delusion of the grand representation, which was to contain the answers, were willing to keep open till then the wounds of distemper'd minds: but then the scenes of these representations were afterwards as prudent and instructive as those of Memphis. At length, as Mnevia was leaving the Elysian fields, she was shewn the gate of the temple of divination; the entrance into which was promis'd her as the fruits of the preparations with which she had comply'd.

HAVING

HAVING in this manner visited the Elysian fields seven times within the twelve days; and after many private sacrifices offer'd to the god in her behalf in the temple, the priest and priestess led the princess-queen directly to the temple of divination. Before it was open'd for her, they made her propose at the gate the three questions she desir'd to be resolv'd in concerning her lover. Who is he? Does he love me? Will he marry me? The gate then immediately open'd as of itself. Nothing appear'd at first but a marble wall opposite to it, and they ascended above twenty steps on the right hand, which led into an apartment where the consulters were made to repose, and where they began to hear the instruments of musick. From thence they made her pass a pretty long and dark passage, into a box yet more obscure, where the priest and priestess seated her between them. The top and sides of the box disappearing in a moment, she believ'd herself transported into the middle of the great square of Memphis; which she knew, because she had been there with the late queen her mother. She found herself upon a seat a little elevated, with her back turn'd to the king's palace, which she saw behind her. Thus she had the temple of the three deities before her eyes; in such manner, however, that the whole front of it seem'd demolish'd; and she had a view of
the

the inside to the entrance into the sanctuary *. Here there appear'd as if in the air, an exceeding great hall, form'd of transparent clouds. In this hall the gods were seated in a semi-circle. Upon steps advancing towards the front, were the ancient heroes of Egypt, plac'd to the right and to the left in such manner, that they seem'd to continue the rows of the gods. Next to them, on the pavement of the temple, still advancing in the same order, were plac'd the kings of Memphis. Lastly, without the temple in the square, to a certain distance from the princess's seat, was a crowd of men and women in no order, only leaving a passage thro' them in the middle. A moment afterwards the princess saw a person, who, coming out of the hall where the gods were seated, in which he appear'd on a sudden, advanc'd between the two rows of heroes and kings, who seem'd to admire, to congratulate, and to encourage him. Then began a scene compos'd of the people and a coryphæus plac'd at the entrance into the temple. The people sung to a full musick, and the coryphæus answer'd them in a figurative oration, accompany'd by the sound of some instruments which

* Besides the remark which has been already made on the subject of the Elysian fields in the fourth book ; see an account of the enchantments practis'd in the temples of the ancients, by M. l'Abbé Banier, which comes up to this. *Original of fables*. Tom. 3. pag. 168.

agreed

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agreed with the inflections of his voice. One of my authors here relates the Egyptian scene, which gives a lively representation of all we have been mentioning. The personages express'd themselves in verse ; because they thought them proper to heighten the imagination, when they attempted to raise the mind above its common pitch. They suppos'd that they contributed very much to the effect of an illusion, which was farther assisted by the surpassing art of the actors, by a most exact perspective, by a judicious placing of the lights ; but above all, by the disposition of the spectatress, to whom love was then the most mighty of enchanters. To keep up in some measure the beauty of this and the two following scenes, I will attempt the translation of them into Greek verse, tho' 'tis what I am not extremely accusom'd to.

S C E N E,

In answer to the first question.

Chorus of *Egyptians*.

*Ye gods, whose birth is Egypt's envied boast,
Whose glories fade, in our misfortunes lost ;
Upon our monarchs, your own sacred race,
Pour down your blessings, and your griefs deface.*

CORYPHÆ.

CORYPHÆUS, or chief person.

*Who is this hero, sprung from gods,
Whom, from afar, my eyes survey;
Who comes from their divine abodes,
And awful bends to us his way?*

*Myriads of kings, a solemn scene,
Divide, and leave his passage free;
And, in his acts, and in his mien,
Reviv'd, their own resemblance see.*

*Expecting from his prowess vast
What peace can to these realms afford,
These once-lov'd realms; long troubles past,
And rage appeas'd, and laws restor'd.*

Chorus.

*Heaven feels, at length, compassion for our woes,
And, born for our relief, the hero shews.*

Chief person.

*See him approach! His features I can trace:
My heart knew CHERES, ere my eyes his face.
Is he that hero? Was his valour giv'n
To be the instrument of gracious heav'n?
Yes: In his love for you, by hearts sincere
Return'd, the pledges of success appear.*

One

One of the Chorus.

*But ! 'tis in conquest, grac'd by that alone ;
See now, that sacred ornament, a crown !
In war an humble lot he seem'd to claim,
When through vast perils to our coasts he came, }
By valour only urg'd, and led by thirst of fame. }*

Chief person.

*Soon, throwing off the stranger's humble guise,
In that great name his state shall be regain'd ;
EGYPT's once fairest hope shall bless our eyes,
Tho' by a vile impostor now profan'd.*

*Sing then his acts, his fame, and mix your joys,
Since heav'n for you preserves the prince it gave ;
Who only for your sakes his care employs,
And hither comes to conquer and to save.*

An ODE,

Sung by two chorus's; during which, the person who represented Cheres coming forwards in the lane between the people, cast his eyes upon them, to the right and to the left, with great marks of affection and zeal.

*All heroes from the gods descend,
Whose virtues still the voice of fame ;
The gods who heroes still defend,
And in their acts their blood proclaim :*

But

*But for preventing envy's rage,
Against his precious life t' engage,
Our eyes by heav'n were veil'd,
And for great CHERES fate procur'd
Homage more tender, more assur'd
His birth as yet conceal'd.*

Second Chorus.

*Thro' paths untrac'd he shap'd his way,
The world alone could him confine;
For climes forsook the pole-star's ray,
Where unknown constellations shine.
Discovering here a savage shore,
Where altars smoke with human gore,
Rites horrid and prophane!
And there a superstitious race,
Who pain and evil blindly face,
For idols weak and vain.*

First Chorus.

*Humanity which in him shone,
Even thro' the stranger, strongly charm'd;
Their savage hearts his virtues won,
Their fierceness broke, their rage disarm'd.
O glorious thought! O god-like mind!
See Africk polish'd and refin'd!
O victor, truly brave!
Who by the commerce which he laid,
Call'd wealth and grandeur in to aid
The happiness he gave.*

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Second Chorus.

*Scarce landed on th' Hesperian shore,
To taste its peaceful calm delights,
By perfidy alarm'd, once more
His virtue pants for glorious flights.
But could he be at Memphis taught,
Who sacred duty set at nought
For woman's fatal charms?
See Carthage's fam'd empire lost!
But lo—the victor cheers the coast,
And quells the din of arms!*

First Chorus.

*Egypt sore shock'd with inward woes,
Deriv'd from an impostor's war,
An object, seeming fairer, shows
In that mock prince, to sooth your care.
And while the ballance thus you try
Between the silence and the lye,
To error you incline.
But see, at sight of his great lord,
The slave wept, trembled, and ador'd,
And truth began to shine!*

Second Chorus.

*The slaught'ring arms, the deathful fights
Are not fair virtues proofs, but pests;
That valour which with vice unites,
My soul not honours, but detests:
SETHOS makes no such barb'rous claim,
As he who boasts the sacred name.*

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*SETHOS in thee is sought,
O CHERES, give him to our eyes;
Such as our mysteries made wise,
Such as at Coptos fought.*

THE actor, whose mask represented Cheres so exactly as not to be distinguish'd, encourag'd by these praises to new vigour, went off from the stage on one side of the front, in the action of a person going to attack an enemy. Immediately all the lights of the theatre being extinguish'd at once, left the princess in a profound obscurity between the priest and the priestess, who spoke to her to forbear her tears. But some moments afterwards, the seat upon which she sat, sinking, she found herself in a light passage, thro' which they led her into her retirement.

MNEVIA, from whose eyes a thick cloud of darkness as it were, was remov'd, was astonish'd that she had not of herself perceiv'd, what she was now inform'd of: she reproach'd herself, in a hurry of thoughts, with indiscretions she had not committed, against a person she did not know: she confess'd, however, to her guides, that she had a hundred times stifled a thought which could not have fail'd of arising, when she observ'd in Cheres not only the greatness of his soul, but his noble appearance: Oh! had I but pursu'd this thought, (continu'd she)

she) I had stopp'd on the brink of the precipice, and had not lov'd him : But, no, I was not at first acquainted with my father's resolution, and I should yet have lov'd him. Oh ! my father, you to whom your daughter is so dear, will you suffer a vain scruple to be her death ? No, I shall move you to compassion. The fear you have of a husband's rendering himself master of your dynasty, can have no regard to the most just and generous of mankind : If he do but love me, all is well. O learned priest, and wise priestess ! procure me a dissipation of this uncertainty, and give me, this moment, satisfaction to my second question ; Does he love me ? The chief of the divination answer'd her ; That consultants were always at liberty to go thro' with the three questions they were in the beginning confin'd to : but then they had the same freedom to desist ; and that they had known several examples of people, who being too much astonish'd with the first answer, did not dare to proceed. No, (said she) I will know my fate, and I dare even believe it auspicious. They told her, she should have satisfaction.

THEY therefore led her into a box as dark as the former, thro' a passage which she believ'd to be the same. The design of this second scene, was to represent a combat
in

in the mind of Sethos between love and heroick virtue, by two persons; one of which represented the man, and the other the hero. They had both not only the stature and gait of Sethos, and, by means of their imperceptible masks, the perfect resemblance of his visage; but besides, certain thin plates of steel, or slips of parchment, apply'd artfully at the place of their lips, gave them the tone of his voice *. The priests of Heliopolis excell'd in these sorts of scenes, which something resembled those mix'd images of impossibility or contradiction, which dreams often represent to those who labour under great afflictions of mind, or violent passions of the heart. The solitude in which they kept their consulters, the shews they previously caus'd to be expos'd to their view, some of which inspir'd terror; and the temper'd narcoticks, which they made them take during their fasting, render'd them, by degrees, susceptible of these last illusions. They went sometimes so far, that they had enough to do to hinder them from speaking to the actors; and they did not always attempt to do it: They took them for the persons themselves, whom a supernatural power oblig'd to appear before them. The princess, when

* See The secrets of the Pantomimick art, in the article of the theatre of the ancients, of *Monf. L'Abbé Dubos.* comp. of poetry and painting, t. 1.

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her box disappear'd as the first time, imagin'd herself separated by a brook from an unknown and desert plain, at the end of which appear'd a camp, and tents : The two persons were alone on the front ; and they at first seem'd to walk at some distance one from the other.

S C E N E,

In answer to the second question.

The M A N.

*I feel the conqu'ror, and his empire own ;
Love seated in my heart, as in his throne.*

The H E R O.

*To me, unlawful, if soft love's decreed,
Heroick virtue ! See thy victim bleed !*

The M A N.

*I bear the thralldom of a face too fair ;
And, sure, the gods won't drive me to despair !*

The H E R O to the other person.

*Ha ! would'st thou then, seduc'd by treach'rous art,
Let the soft poison glide into thy heart ?
Do thy own labours fill thy thoughts no more ?
Can'st thou forget the woes which Africk bore,
When all thy prowess scarcely could remove
Th'effect of one frail hero's guilty love ?*

'Tis

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'Tis true, the chains, which, while they bind thee,
Lead not to dangers or to crimes like these. [please,
But will that safety for your fame suffice?
Is glory to be won at such a price?
In vain, with iterated conquests crown'd,
To Memphis you return, ador'd, renown'd.
You perish in the port, unless you know
To overcome, in love, your greatest foe.
You're not your own; his passion, his repose,
His sceptre, Sethos all to virtue owes.
Think, Egypt's kings, t'employ thy warlike band,
Have chose thee Conservator of the land.
The name of king, spouse of the queen you love,
Will soon to you the source of hatred prove.
Two brothers —————

The M A N.

— Hence your useles counsels bear!
Let me no more heroick virtue bear:
Whilst I, to all that suffer, bring relief,
Must my own virtue load me still with grief?
Me, for such errors, vainly you reprove!
Heroes have always been reproach'd with love:
Tho' to their names a hundred temples rise,
From me expect not virtues that surprize.
Those acts refin'd, which in your eyes seem great,
The censure of excess, may, one day, meet.
Let me pay duty to less rig'rous laws,
My life devoted to my country's cause,
Still watchful for her good; but, in his turn,
Love in my bosom ev'n 'till death shall burn.

The HERO, aside.

*To baffled reason, love disdains to yield ;
A stronger force, I see, must gain the field.*

To the other person.

*Hence with vain talk ; let's try who soonest can
A conquest win, the HERO, or the MAN.*

The MAN.

*Careless of ought but Mnervia's love, I fly
To arms : Come on ; I'll conquer, tho' I die.*

THE two actors immediately drew their swords ; and the princess imagining she was at a real spectacle, cry'd out to them, Hold ! rising at the same time from her seat, as if to go up towards them. But the person who represented the HERO, soon laid the other flat on the ground. She said ; Oh ! barbarous wretch : What ? destroy my lover before my face ! The hero actor, tho' he could not be in expectation of such a transport, had so much presence of mind as to come forwards to the brink of the brook, to answer her in the same tone he had spoke before, and continuing his enthusiasm ;

He lives, O queen ! and I your orders wait.

THE

THE princess reply'd ; Cruel man ! it is not thee I love ; or if it be, relentless hero ! who art the sole object of my affection, come and vent thy fury on me, and prevent, by an agreeable death, the torments which thy cruelty makes me dread. The actor immediately answer'd ;

The heavens for thee reserve a nobler fate !

*Your life an useless recompence wou'd prove
For the great sacrifice, you owe, in love.*

THE princess having then fallen into a swoon, some men and women of the second order, who were silent, took her, and carried her immediately into her retirement, where they had great difficulty to recover her. The chief of the divination, and two priests, who were physicians, came soon afterwards into her apartment, and let her want nothing that was proper in such cases, which were not uncommon to them, and of which they were in expectation. At length, after two full hours, the priest and priestess being alone with her, asked her if she desired to be carried back to her apartment. She answered in a fury, which was surprizing from the most affable person in the world, that she would first know what this great sacrifice was which Sethos required of her. The chief

chief of the divination replied, that was not her third question, the terms of which were ; Will he marry me? But that however, to satisfy her, they would dispense with their rule, if she thought she had courage enough to go thro' with a third enchantment, which was the name they always gave to these scenes or replies. Nor are we to suppose, that the priest would have had this complaisance, if he had not known that the scene which was prepared, would serve equally for the former or latter question. The princess said, with her eyes bath'd in tears, that she had rather know all her misfortunes at once, and that if she died at the prediction, she should not die of the effect of it,

A PASSAGE like to the former, led her to a place where her two guides desir'd her to remain standing. The box disappearing, she found herself in the place to which she us'd chiefly to resort ; which was the temple of Tanis ; it seem'd to her, as if she was but just enter'd the gate. From thence she saw, almost at the entrance into the sanctuary, the altar, which was usually erected to celebrate the nuptials of persons of distinction ; but without any priests attending. The nave of the temple, up to the altar, was fill'd with a great number of people rang'd in two lines, and upon scaffoldings
rising

rising by degrees on each side. But this company did not begin till a certain distance ; and excepting the priest and priestesses, between whom the princess stood, she had a large place round about her free. A moment afterwards, she saw herself accosted by a person whom she took for Sethos himself. He was not in accoutrements of war, as she had always seen him ; but, under an open gown, which the Egyptians wore in the cities, and in time of peace, was seen his initiate's vest. This actor giving her his hand, said :

S C E N E,

In answer to the third question.

*Your subjects round this altar stand,
Expecting from your marriage band
Eternal bliss to meet :*

*Then grant it, to my humble vows,
To join you to your happy spouse,
Their wishes to compleat.*

The queen giving way to her error, as to a dream in which a person would fear waking, said to him : My dear prince ! I am at last at the highest pitch of my wishes ; is it possible, that after all the fears I have had on your account, you are come yourself to calm my mind. But I see you have quit-
ted

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ted your accoutrements of war, and that
your initiate's vest is your only ornament,
Your victories have without doubt secur'd
our peace. Most accomplish'd hero, you
shall always be my conqueror.

SETHOS interrupting her, said :

*Sing, all ye crowds, the marriage of your queen,
Praise in her ears, her husband's duteous love,
And think their virtuous joys, the op'ning scene
Of your long-liv'd felicity will prove.*

THE queen suffering herself to be led
by this person, pass'd with him thro' the
two lines of people, who sung the follow-
ing epithalamium.

To H Y M E N.

*Tbou sage preserver of the race of man,
Who first our wild desires, with rules confin'd
To modest choice, and wedlock's sacred plan,
Unlike the wand'rings of the savage kind.*

*By thee, with lessons from their grandsires brought,
Parents instruct the blessings of their race ;
By thee our kings, from heroes sprung, are taught
The steps of heroes sprung from gods to trace.*

*'Tis thine to calm the rage of warring pow'rs,
To lull sad cares, and anxious thoughts remove ;
To lead for happy pairs the smiling hours,
And give the joys, without the pangs, of love.*
This

*This day our queen, submitting to thy laws,
Designs t' accept a valiant tender spouse ;
Give her the joy, which thence her people draws,
And in the love he merits, grant their vows.*

To SETHOS.

*O thou, to whom her anxious heart is known,
Can she an equal to thy virtues rise ?
To all propitious but thy self alone,
Allow some time to make the sacrifice.*

FROM the beginning of this last stanza, the prince and the princess were come up to the altar. Then Sethos, who still held her by the hand, left her on one side of the altar, and took the place of the priest behind, instead of placing himself on the side opposite to her. She began to be astonished at this situation, when another person, in a warlike dress, took hold of her hand, and kneeling down with one knee, bath'd it with tears, without shewing his face.

AT this she turn'd hastily toward Sethos, thinking to take refuge in his arms, but he was vanish'd, and she saw him no more. The warrior likewise disappeared, but the priest and priestess who followed her, and had an eye upon her, seated her, almost fainting, in a large elbow chair. Immediately darkness being spread over the whole place,

place, they carried her in a machine made for that purpose, and in which her two guides were with her, to the apartment they had given her adjoining to the temple. The apartment was exactly under their theatre; and as the passage to it was totally darken'd, the consulters, when they saw light, found themselves there without knowing which way they came into it, or being able to conceive how they were convey'd so long a way in so short a time.

As soon as the princess came to herself, the priest and priestess told her, that their office was finish'd with her; but that, if she pleas'd, she might remain yet twenty-four hours in that apartment; after which they should desire her to remove to another, if she did them the honour to accept of a lodging with the priestesses for a retirement of some weeks; but that the apartment she was then in was set apart for consulters. They added at the same time, that she was at her liberty, even in that apartment, during these twenty-four hours, to command such diet as she should think fit; and either to be with them two alone, or to have greater company if she desired it. They let her see thro' a lettice of her chamber, a table richly covered in an adjoining apartment, and the same company who had receiv'd her, waiting impatiently for her orders. Mnevia, who was extremely polite and complaisant, answer'd

answer'd her guides, that she desired only half an hour's respite to recover and dress herself, which she beg'd the priest would go immediately and tell the company, that did her the favour to wait for her. She added, however, before he went out, that as she could not leave the king her father longer alone, she would depart immediately after the repast, which she would accept of with the priests and priestesses, and desir'd him to give notice of it to her ladies and attendants. At the expiration of half an hour, when she left the apartment she had been in, to repair to the other, she, with great marks of friendship and gratitude, embrac'd the priestess, who, besides the assiduity of her conversation and advice, had attended her during the twelve days as a menial servant; and giving her her picture enrich'd with diamonds, she promis'd a more considerable present for the temple of Heliopolis.

As soon as the princess, attended by the whole company who had been at table with her, was enter'd into her chariot, her nurse, who sat by her, as she had done in coming, said to her; Oh madam! how impatient have I been to see you, to inform you of a happy piece of news, which perhaps you have not heard in the retirement from whence you come. Your lover, who is
now

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now known, is preparing to come to Tanis, ready to espouse you, freed from all difficulties, and especially from that which would have been made him by the king. This lady gave her immediately such a favourable account of this event, that the princess look'd upon all the sinister fortune which had been foretold her, in the answers she had receiv'd, as mere fiction. But to make the reader understand the subject of this her confidence, it is necessary to go back to Sethos, under the name of Cheres, to the camp where we left him conqueror of the Arabians, and master of the person of Afares, his former slave, who had usurp'd his name.

THE conservator, when he departed from this camp for Memphis, had his prisoner put into a chariot, where he was alone, seated, and liable to no other inconvenience but that of not seeing any body, and having no other light but from the top of the boards which encompass'd it. There he was fed when they baited in the day-time, without being spoken to : and when they encamped in the night-time, Cheres ordered a bed to be laid for him in the same chariot, long enough for him to lie upon, and had him guarded by centinels who were reliev'd from time to time. Being arriv'd at Memphis, he went immediatly to the king's palace, and pre-

presenting him the two princes whom he had brought back with him, he told him, before a numerous court, That besides infinite proofs they had given of their valour and prudence, he was indebted for his life to prince Beon, who had warded off a blow of a sabre, aim'd at him by the enemy's general; and that the kingdom, and all Egypt were bound to prince Pemphos for burning the Arabian fleet. He added, That with respect to the prisoner he brought, he thought it necessary to erect a large scaffolding before the gate of the palace; that he might there be oblig'd to answer, in the presence of all the people, the questions which he should put to him, he having been present at the siege of Coptos, where Sethos disappear'd: That he would be assisted in this examination by priests who had attended Sethos from his infancy to the conclusion of his initiation; and that those of the lords that were present, who had been witnesses to the whole administration of queen Nephte, might form their doubts, or communicate what they knew on this head. The queen, who for many reasons fear'd the consequences of this examination, cry'd out immediately, That it was unnecessary, and that it would be sufficient to confine Sethos to perpetual imprisonment: A punishment too mild, added she, for his rebellion, and for the misfortunes he has brought upon Egypt. For

that very reason, madam, replied the conservator, the criminal ought to be expos'd to a publick judgment, which by condemning the person, will perhaps clear the name. The king, sensible of the obligation he had to Cheres, declared himself positively of his mind, and added, That he referr'd this affair to him to pursue, and conclude it as he should judge proper.

CHERES, when he went out of the palace, told prince Beon in private, That he had an hour's time to go and see his princess, who was with the priestesses; but he pray'd him not to bring her back then, because it would be necessary for him to be present at the examination of the prisoner, which he would give directions for immediately. The scaffolding, which was made use of upon other occasions, being erected in less than an hour, so near to the balcony of the palace, that whatever was said on both sides might be plainly heard; Cheres, attended by eight or ten priests, who had known him from his infancy, and the two who followed him in his voyages, as likewise about ten or twelve lords, who had been present at the nuptials of Osoroth with Nephte, came first upon the scaffolding. In the mean time, the king, with Daluca, his two sons, and as many of the court, both men and women, as the balcony and win-
dows

dows of the palace would contain, were in expectation of this spectacle, and of the sentence the conservator would pronounce. At length the prisoner was brought thro' an innumerable crowd of people who were below. As soon as he was ascended, and plac'd before his judge, perceiving his initiate's vest thro' the mail of his armour, which the other persons who were present had not yet observ'd, and seeing him encompass'd by the priests ready to confound a counterfeit Sethos, by the bare preliminaries of the initiation, which were wanting in him, he cry'd out, Oh! unhappy that I am, I am but the slave Asares. My repentance, however, for having deceived mankind by the false name I have assumed, does not come up to the joy I have in being the first to discover in this hero the true Sethos, my master and my conqueror. At the same time, taking his ring from his finger, he said; My lord, I restore you the ring I took from you the fatal night at Coptos: I did not however take it, till I thought you dead of a wound you had receiv'd by the side of a young lord, who thought you dead as well as I: It was I, (reply'd instantly, a young lord about the age of Sethos, who was at one of the windows of the palace). Asares, continuing his discourse, which overjoy'd every one, said, I confess, my lord, that the advantage I had of being edu-

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cated near your person, made me believe I was the fittest person in the world to supply your place. The victories I have obtain'd in Arabia, and even my whole conduct, could have continued to support this opinion in the publick, if you had not risen from the dead in the person of the great Cheres. But, ye gods, what a difference there is in men? Even with the renown'd name of Sethos, I have not been able to obtain the fame which Sethos has acquir'd under the unknown name of Cheres. Lead me to my punishment, which I have but too justly deserv'd; and I previously pronounce myself the same sentence as that of my judge.

THIS testimony of the criminal was immediately confirm'd by that of all the priests, and especially of the two who had known young Sethos in the island of Taprobane: They related how he had been brought thither by the Phœnician fleet commanded by Astartus, into whose hands this prince had been put as a common soldier of Memphis nam'd Cheres, sold by the Ethiopians, who had taken him wounded, and almost dead, in the night-combat at Coptos. They gave a brief account of the victory which his valour and skill had assisted the Phœnicians in gaining over the islanders. They declar'd how the two nations, being reconcil'd,

cil'd, thought they might intrust him with a fleet with which he undertook and gloriously compleated the whole tour of Africa. These two priests at last attested, that they had never left him fourteen days together, from their departure from Taprobane, to his return to Egypt. The king then desir'd to see this famous ring; which, instead of discovering his son at once, had very near carry'd the cause of an impostor. Sethos deliver'd it him in the balcony, from the top of the scaffolding, which was not above the length of two mens arms distance: but he added the late queen his mother's ring, which, he said, she had given him on the day of her death, in the presence of an ancient lady whom he pointed to in the balcony. It was the first lady of honour to the late queen, who confirm'd the fact with transports of affection which interrupted her words. The king had now the satisfaction of comparing these two stones, with that which he wore himself on his finger, and to see together the images of the three deities, which he had caus'd to be carv'd upon the same emerald, and afterwards to be separated to make three rings, of which we made mention in the first book of this history.

OSOROTH did not stop there; for perceiving very plainly the inclination of the

people, shewn by their endless acclamations, he caus'd himself to be carry'd down in the chair he sat in, and in the same manner up to the scaffolding ; there, speaking as loud as he possibly could to the whole assembly, he said ; I see my people are in expectation I should restore the assurance of the succession to my son Sethos. I will exceed their expectations and their wishes. I this moment descend from my throne, to give place to a son who will fill it better than I. Immediately taking his crown from off his own head, he order'd Sethos to kneel before him ; and having made him take off his helmet, fix'd the same diadem on his. This short ceremony was follow'd by applauses, which for a whole hour hinder'd every one from hearing each other speak. At the expiration of this time, Oforoth being retir'd, and king Sethos remaining alone upon the scaffolding with those who had attended him as judges, said to the people ; 'That tho' the impostor Asares had deserv'd death, by the war he had wag'd against Egypt ; he thought himself, however, oblig'd to begin his reign by an act of mercy : That therefore he granted the criminal his life, and would even retain him in his service, but in the name and quality of a slave ; which he judg'd would be a sufficient punishment for a man, who by

his

his valour and capacity had been made general of an army.

THE new king being return'd immediately afterwards into the palace, began, by asking for the king his father, who had already chosen a retir'd and not very extensive apartment. Sethos, upon entring, prostrated himself at his feet. The king, having made him rise, told him; He should now die contented, since the return of his true son had given him an opportunity of doing the only noble action of his life. He immediately dismiss'd him, to go and receive the homage of his new subjects. The first which was render'd him, was that of the two princes. After having embrac'd the eldest, he order'd him privately to dispense for some days from going to see the princess his spouse, at the sacerdotal palace; because the news he had to carry her might cause an emotion in her mind, which might be prejudicial to her health, in the condition she was in: That it would even be in vain for him to attempt it; and that they had already his orders on that head in the sacerdotal palace for a term which he would soon know. Having in the same manner receiv'd homage from prince Pemphos, he whisper'd him, That he would promote his marriage, by removing certain difficulties which the former administration had caus'd:

That therefore he should 'till then take care not to make any steps towards it of himself, for fear of spoiling all.

It won't be thought strange, that queen Daluca, having lost her dignity, against her will, by the voluntary abdication of her husband, was retir'd into the inmost of her apartments : but she carry'd her despair yet farther. Seeing herself divested of the power she had 'till then exercis'd, and of all hopes of any future power, upon which she set a yet much greater value ; and persuaded besides, that Sethos would take vengeance for the destruction formerly design'd him, and for all her oppressions during the course of her administration and credit ; she became her own judge, by swallowing a poison, which she believ'd more violent and more efficacious than in reality it prov'd. And thus she had all the time necessary to see all the unworthy subjects she had advanc'd, discharg'd from their employs throughout the whole extent of the kingdom. Sethos intrusted the management of these changes to the priests of Memphis, who had a knowledge of every thing ; and he was very well assur'd, that the self-interest of priesthood would have no share in their choice. Daluca had the satisfaction to see some of these officers displac'd, who, having had no recommendation

to her choice but their wickedness, were become perfidious even to her. She had learn'd, but too late, that a king is never faithfully serv'd but by such who are strictly virtuous; and that those vicious men, who make so great an outward shew of loyalty to their prince, are only devoted to their own fortune. Sethos took care not to supply their places, but to have their functions exercis'd by those officers who were next under them, as well in the city as the provinces, 'till the future nomination.

DURING this interval, the conservator had frequently made mention of the ceremony of his coronation: but he would not fix the day, 'till he saw the effect of the poison the queen had taken. He had from time to time particular information of her condition: And his design was, if she did not die, to remain king, in order to keep her in subjection; being determin'd not to bring her to any open punishment, out of respect to his father, either during his life, or after his death: but he would have made prince Beon his part'ner in the crown; as well to comply with the intention of Oforoth, as abundantly to fulfil the promise he had made him, when he recommended his two sons to his care; but principally, because he could not marry, by reason of his oath to the princess Mnevia; and he,
how-

however, thought it convenient, that the proper heirs to the crown of Memphis should see their father upon the throne. But when he was assur'd that Daluca could not escape the death she had given herself, he thought he might now give the greater scope to his generosity; and particularly, remove all suspicion and jealousy from the title of conservator: which the love of his country, and the choice of all the kings of Egypt, made him, at the bottom of his soul, prefer to that of king of Memphis. He even made, in private, a reflection, which has since been avouched by great authors, viz. That the best of kings, and the most desirable for the subject, is, perhaps, a man of common parts; because he is less liable, than greater minds, to think himself more knowing than the laws *. They have even added, That, with regard to neighbouring states, a king who has a great deal of probity and uprightness, has little need of politicks †. Sethos therefore appointed the next day, which was the fifth after his manifestation, for a ceremony, which was to be much more singular than he had made known; for he had not communicated to the royal family, nor the publick, either

* Thucydides, l. 3. in the harangue of Cleon.

† It is one of the maxims of Confucius, related at the end of the Memoirs of China, by father le Comte.

the first design, which he had form'd ; or the second, which he was about to execute.

A THEATRE was erected, according to custom, at the end of the court of the temple. I omit all the descriptions of the magnificence and order of all the princes, lords, and every rank of citizens, who assisted at this august ceremony, to speak only of what concerns Sethos and his brother. The new king, who had order'd every one to lay aside their accoutrements of war, accompany'd by prince Beon, as heir-apparent to the crown, went first into the temple, where the gods were implor'd to render his reign auspicious, by sacrifices, and hymns made expressly for that purpose. From thence twelve priests first ascended the theatre, carrying an altar upon which was a crown of gold. King Sethos follow'd them, with his brother ; and after having sat a moment upon a throne rais'd three steps, which was erected opposite to the altar, he arose, and took the crown, which he plac'd himself upon his own head, under the sound of trumpets, and the acclamations of the people. He then kneel'd down upon a cushion, and bow'd very low towards the temple. Being plac'd again upon the throne, he made the priests inscribe his name in the register of the kings of Memphis,

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phis, by the name of Sethos Sofis, or Sethos Conservator : He likewise reserv'd his place among the sepulchres of the labyrinth at the feet of the queen his mother. Then rising from his throne, he plac'd the crown upon the altar, from whence he had taken it : but returning again to his place, he call'd his brother, and making him kneel before him, he loosen'd his diadem from his own head, and plac'd it upon his, while astonishment made him dumb and motionless. He said to him ; Brother, I do with regard to you, what my father did to me : The generosity he display'd upon knowing me, to renounce his designs in your favour, require me to pursue them ; I therefore restore you his throne, because you don't dispute it with me ; but principally, because your natural goodness gives me reason to expect from you a government as happy for your people, as I should attempt to procure them myself. My father and yours is contented with the title of king-father ; and I think myself too much honour'd with the title of king-conservator. For you, you are king of Memphis. But tho' my quality of initiate dispens'd my coronation from longer ceremonies, you must hear from the mouth of the high-priest, who is now going to speak, the behaviour of the kings our first ancestors, that it may be a rule for yours. After that, you shall go and take the crown
from

from the altar yourself, as I did, to shew the people that you receive it from the gods alone, and that I am only the instrument that has plac'd it on your head. Immediately the king-conservator arose, made his brother ascend the throne, and fate down himself among the priests. In the same instant, the new king, turning his head, at a bustle which he heard at the gate of the temple, was extremely surpriz'd to see the princess his spouse, now queen, who was immediately seated in the same place, on a throne which was one step lower than that of the king's.

THEN the high-priest, standing between the altar and the king, who was sitting, made the following speech to him: My lord! I begin, by congratulating you, in the name of all your people, that the discovery of an elder brother, who by his birthright, and the glory of all his actions, should, in appearance, deprive you for ever from the succession which was design'd you, has further'd your accession to the crown. He, from this day, puts you into the quiet possession of a throne, to which you had but a disputed title before him. In the life of this hero alone centre all the great examples which are dispers'd in the long series of our annals. That, my lord! is not, however, the model which he him-
self

self proposes for you to follow. Your engagements are very different from those he has lain under hitherto : And we exhort you, To take pattern, for your conduct, from that which would have been his for the future, if his generosity had not transferr'd his right to you. It is by that spirit which led him into a world before unknown, which enabled him to combat with so many enemies, which made him take so many different forms, as time and place requir'd : By that same spirit, I say, my lord ! you will establish yourself in your dominions, keep peace with your neighbours, and conform to the constant maxims of our first kings your ancestors. The ceremony of this august day obliges me to remind you of the simplicity of their customs, the austerity of their lives, and even of the restraint and subjection of their persons. It is not for you to tie yourself down to their examples, taken literally. The progress of understanding, the refinement of manners, and the politeness of the ensuing ages, have chang'd that exterior of things, which was look'd upon as troublesome to no purpose : but it will always be of consequence to you, to go back to those principles upon which those great men acted, and to go in search of virtue conceal'd under the rough outside of their customs ; and which, without doubt, was pre-

preserved in that manner more secure, than it has been since under more agreeable appearances.

OUR ancient kings were tied down to certain rules in every thing, not only with regard to the government of their kingdom, but with respect to their private behaviour *. They were not allowed to be served by slaves bought with money, or even born in their palaces; but they had the children of the priests and young lords of the most distinguished education, all upwards of twenty years of age, for their servants; that the king, having the most considerable of the Egyptian youth always before his eyes, might never do any thing unworthy the majesty of his rank. Above all, there were certain stated hours, as well by day as by night, in which the king was not his own master, but was obliged to perform those duties the laws requir'd of him. At break of day he was to read the letters which came to him from all parts; that being himself instructed of the necessities of his kingdom, he might provide for every need, and remedy every evil. After coming out of the bath, he was cloathed with a

* This is taken almost word for word from Diod. lib. 1. sect. 2.

costly habit, and other marks of royalty, to go and sacrifice to the gods. When the victims were brought to the altar, the high-priest standing, and in the presence of all the assembly, implored the gods with an audible voice, that they would preserve the king, and heap all manner of prosperity upon him, because he govern'd his subjects with equity. He next inserted in his prayer an enumeration of all the virtues proper for a king, continuing thus; Because he is master of himself, magnanimous, benevolent, affable toward others, and an enemy of falsehood; his punishments are not adequate to the crimes they are inflicted for, and his rewards exceed the services done him. He next condemn'd the failings the king was fallen into thro' ignorance. It is true, he clear'd the king of them, but he heap'd execrations upon flatterers, and all those who gave him evil counsel. The high-priest took this method, because advices, mix'd with praises, are more efficacious than harsh admonitions, to bring kings to a fear of the gods, and a love of virtue. Having then perform'd the sacrifice, the reader of the sacred writings read some exploits, or remarkable sayings of great men; that the sovereign of the republick, having his mind stock'd with excellent principles and examples, might put them in practice upon all occasions which offer'd. It was not only
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the time for giving audiences, and pronouncing judgment, which were prescrib'd him, but he could not take a walk, use the bath, or do any thing whatsoever, but at fix'd hours. He was allow'd only plain diet, and they gave him such a portion of wine, as not only could not visibly disorder him, but could not in the least impair his judgment. In short, whatever regarded diet, was so well order'd, that those regulations might rather be esteem'd the prescriptions of a physician, than the statutes of a law-giver. But if it seem'd singular, that a king had not the liberty of indulging his appetite at his meals, it was at least excellent, and very advantageous, that he could not gratify either his passion or his caprice in the affairs of state; and that both in the judgments he gave, and the punishments he inflicted, he was tied up to what the laws appointed in every circumstance they had provided for. By that likewise, they screen'd themselves from unjust and importunate requests, from which a prince cannot be exempt, but by confining himself to wise and immutable rules. These, my lord, are what they formerly call'd the privileges and pleasures of royalty. That goodness which is your character, and of which you give continual proofs, and the courage you have shewn on a signal occasion, give us reason to hope you will come up to the virtues of

your ancestors. They ought to be to you an object of emulation, of so much the more concern, as you will exercise them with more liberty, and will secure the same reward with less trouble.

THE king from his throne made the high priest a bow, which shew'd he approv'd of his discourse, and that his intention was to follow his advice. Descending at the same time from the throne, and turning towards the people, he said, That so far from having earnestly sought the crown, it had been a real uneasiness to him, in the time even of the counterfeit Sethos, to rob him of a scepter which he thought his right by birth, as unworthy of it as he had made himself with regard to the king his father, by his threats and hostilities. That the discovery of the true Sethos had been a very great ease to his mind ; because it freed his country from those foreign, and even civil wars, to which the uncertainty of a lawful successor would have expos'd it. But that finally, since king Sethos, his lord and elder brother, had absolutely resolv'd to resign the kingdom, which was in his own possession, to him, he would govern it by his counsels alone. That thus the people of Memphis did not in reality lose their true master, who only acquir'd a new title of glory by his generosity. He then immediately

ately finish'd the ceremony, by taking the crown and placing it on his head, by kneeling down towards the temple, and then placing the crown again upon the altar. All the people return'd back to the temple, where the last sacrifices were to be perform'd.

SETHOS would not follow the king and queen thither, for fear his presence might draw the eyes of the people upon him. But calling Pemphos, to discourse with him concerning his marriage, he immediately inform'd him that his mother expired the moment they brought her the news that he had been so generous to place his brother on the throne, expressing the despair she was in for having shortned her days, by the false dread she had conceiv'd, that her son would never be king. Sethos answer'd him, that she had deceiv'd herself in all her conjectures, except in that which she might have had, that her power was at an end ; at least, said he, unless she had made use of the same expedient to remove me, as she had taken herself. But let us talk no more of her; even her sons, who may be afflicted for her person, ought to blame her life and death. I call'd you to tell you, that after having provided for your brother, my thoughts are now employ'd for you. I will depart immediately for Tanis : But as I may perhaps want more

than one day for this negociation, you shall follow me incognito and disguis'd ; that if our business should not at first succeed, this delay, being hid from the publick, will be less sensible to you. I hope nevertheless to procure you an audience of the king, and of the princess in particular, as soon as I have prepared them : and as soon as your marriage is determined, you shall return in order to go back again to Tanis with a suitable splendor.

THIS conversation led the two brothers to the palace, where king Oforth knew no end of praising his eldest son : and at the return of the king and queen from the temple, Sethos was tir'd with new expressions of gratitude, insomuch that he at last told them, that what he had done had proceeded from principles far superior to those of praise and thanks ; that generosities founded upon such trifling views were liable to repentance ; that it was duty alone which justify'd great sacrifices, and was alone capable to place a man above the oppositions and reluctance of nature. He added, that besides the intention of the kings of Egypt, who would never have given the title and power of Conservator to one of their brethren, he had private obligations which excluded him from the throne ; and that, in short, the only thing they could be oblig'd

lig'd to him for, was the joy he was sensible of, that his own chains had given him an opportunity of making those happy, who in other respects deserv'd to be so. This discourse chang'd the torrent of encomiums to which Sethos was expos'd, to a sincere respect, which was more pleasing, and less troublesome.

To conclude, he found means, notwithstanding the hurries of the day, to inform the two kings and the queen of his intended journey to Tanis, in favour of prince Pemphos. The queen answer'd him, in a manner very agreeable to her father and spouse, that they would not presume to praise or thank him for any thing, but that they would in silence suffer him to do all the good he should think fit. Sethos, remaining afterwards alone with the king his brother, told him, that having taken upon him, during his reign of five days, all the hatred of the vacancies he had made, he had designedly reserved him the pleasure of several places to dispose of. King Beon pressing his hand, assur'd him, that he should fix nothing on this head till after his return. Sethos told him, that the only thing he had to propose to him, for the good and satisfaction of both, was to recall Amedes, and confer the ministry upon him. He added, that Giscon, being sufficiently instructed

by his own failings and adversities, had now no more need of him ; and that even if he had, Amedes would prefer the service of his king to that of a foreign prince. Young Beon thank'd him for this advice, which took place of a great many other. But this prince, whose predominant character was goodness, took the opportunity of the separation, which this private conference had given him, to go and bewail his mother, and to have her privately interr'd, because she would not have been admitted into any of the publick sepulchres of Egypt.

THE conservator arriv'd too suddenly at Tanis, to allow time for any pompous reception. He in some measure surpriz'd the king and the princess when he entered the palace. However Spanius, treating him as a king, gave him all the distinctions of honour in his palace. The princess was but just arriv'd from Heliopolis, from whence she departed the very day of Sethos's abdication. And being yet blinded by the discourse she had had with her nurse, she did not doubt, at seeing him, but he had renounc'd the crown of Memphis, to remove all obstacles to his marriage with her. Sethos would not leave her long in this error, nor act a counterfeit and dubious person, beyond the first compliments. Therefore, as he came thither some hours before
noon,

noon, he took the opportunity of the king's going to council, to desire a private audience of the princess. She granted it him with pleasure, and appointed him a meeting in one of the groves of her garden, whither she repair'd, accompany'd by one of her ladies.

As soon as she came, this lady, who had been her nurse, plac'd herself so that she could not hear their discourse. Then Sethos, standing before the princess, who was sitting, said to her : Madam, one of the most certain marks of the sincerity of my love is, that I am come myself to undeceive you of the hopes we had conceiv'd of it. Oh ! what do I hear ? cry'd she, I am then fallen, after so many vicissitudes of hope and fear, into the precipice which waited for me ! Immediately covering her face with both her hands, and resting her arms on her knees, she suffer'd Sethos to continue as follows : I dare believe, madam, or rather I see plainly, that this reverse of fortune, of which I have been the first sensible in its utmost rigour, will be advantageous to you, and will procure you a more happy futurity, than if a precipitate fate had given success to a design already unpropitious in all its circumstances. What an office, O ye powerful gods ! do you enjoin me ? The name of hero has sometimes been agreeable to my ears ; but I never deserv'd it but upon this occa-

sion, in which I come to harden you against myself, and to request of you, for your own benefit, an everlasting oblivion. I go farther, madam; Satisfy'd in the reasons which oblige me to forsake you, I expose myself to the danger of seeing you again; to convince you, in your turn, of the motives which oblige you to abandon me. But the goodness you have had for Cheres, has laid a sufficient obligation upon Sethos to dispose you to a necessary separation, by more agreeable and juster means than to leave you in a suspicion of his indifference or coldness. The most essential happiness of life, madam, is that peace of mind which arises from the choice we make of our destiny, when we have it in our power. To this future peace, as simple as it may seem to be, it is necessary that we sacrifice all the allurements and all the charms, which present time can offer. There is no passion so lively or so tempting, which ought to hinder us from foreseeing the judgment we shall form of ourselves, when a transitory infatuation shall have given way to the reflections which succeed it. The only truly generous love is that which having regard to duty and decency, and more jealous of the mutual esteem upon which it is founded, than of its own happiness, does not expose itself to become a fatal subject of mutual reproaches. In this view, madam, allow me to examine both our states. And to begin by mine: I came
into

into my country with a design of defending the throne of Memphis against the children of Daluca, whom I left very young, and imagin'd they were become as wicked as their mother. I flatter myself, in the alliance which the king your father does me the honour to offer me, to find a favourable assistance for the execution of this design, as soon as time should render it just. Spanius, upon motives very different, requires the title of conservator of Egypt for me. All the kings of it grant his request, without excepting that case of royalty, which they were no way apprehensive of in me; and even not believing that a king, of the character of Spanius, would think an honorary title sufficient to render a man of no birth worthy of his daughter. I confess, that the uprightness of my intentions had long conceal'd from me the inconsistency of these two titles. But I began to suspect it, when I was privately warn'd of it three days after my discovery. What could I then do? I could not marry you, and keep the crown, because of your father's exclusion, which I knew nothing of till I was upon leaving you; nor any other, by reason of the oath made to you. My father, before he knew me, or had resign'd his crown to me, entrusted me with the tuition of his two sons. I find a brother endued with all the goodness and meekness requir'd to secure the welfare of his people. I, for
my

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my part, can be of more service to Egypt in general, as conservator, than to Memphis alone as king. A dignity so spontaneously conferr'd, and which has no parallel, must be more precious to me, than a birthright, in which I have so many equals. I resign to my brother, whom my arrival, so fortunate for many others, seem'd to make unhappy, a throne upon which my father had plac'd me even in his life-time, tho' he had settled it upon him after his death. Oh ! Madam, what esteem would you retain for me, if, in the face of the whole world, I should change principles so just, and, since I must say it, so glorious, into that of keeping myself for a mistress ; if from a reigning and sovereign king of Memphis, I should become the husband and subject of the princess-queen of Tanis ; if, in short, I should destroy the gift of a throne, I have just made my brother, by successors, who would one day dispute it with his ; in a word, if after having been myself conservator of Egypt, I should become the disturber of it in my posterity ? And you, madam, you who ought to be more jealous than your father of your future authority, would you have nothing to fear from a man, whose fame, be it well or ill-grounded, would give him more influence than he aims at, from a man, who knew himself king independent of you, who would have superior to you the title of conservator
of

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of Egypt; or who, by the name of your husband, would forfeit this title, unless he supported it by a civil war, which would, perhaps, reduce your kingdom to the utmost misery?

OH! Sethos, answer'd the princess, in all you say I have but one wrong to reproach you of: you have no farther love for me. I certainly did not deserve your refusing the crown of Memphis, when it was offer'd you. No, madam, said Sethos, interrupting her, but you deserv'd my not refusing it: and your lover had not been worthy of you—I submit, I tell you again, reply'd the princess, interrupting him likewise; but you have no farther love for me. Why, must all your zeal be employ'd to make the love of Giscon and Zarita happy, which was so blameable in its source? And why must you make it a principle of virtue to destroy the union of our hearts, which you yourself thought so innocent and so just? I confess, that I am not to compare with the heroin of Carthage: But, in short, the greatest heroins have but one life; and I should be as ready to expose mine as she, if you stood in need of a like assistance. Oh! madam, reply'd Sethos, the difference between you and the princess Zarita will be entirely to your advantage, if you yield to my reasons, and even to the necessity of circumstances. Her courage was only visible
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in following a husband she lov'd ; and yours will appear by abandoning a lover who adores you. Hers ought to be publick to the whole world ; but yours will, and ought to have no witness but me. Shall I, in short, say it? Your courage, even in this circumstance, in which I am the most concern'd, will, however, exceed mine. In the disappointment of my love, I shall at least have the satisfaction not to bestow my heart on any one else, and never to suffer the female sex to enter into my thoughts. You must go farther, madam. Not only your condition of queen obliges you to a speedy marriage ; but, I presume to tell you, you are no more mistress of your choice. An amiable prince, who has fulfill'd all the conditions you laid him under, who has serv'd under me by your commands ; or rather, who commanded for me the battle of Utica ; who by his conduct and eloquence concluded the peace between the Carthaginians and the Tingitans, which, perhaps, I had not obtain'd but by force of arms ; who, in short, with respect to Egypt, contriv'd and executed the memorable enterprize of burning the Arabian fleet : This prince, madam, waits, with respect, for the fulfilling of the hopes you never forbid him to entertain, and in which he has persever'd for three years.

OH ! glorious Sethos, cry'd the princess, rising up, I yield to this example of heroism.
You

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You have two brothers by a mother-in-law, who fought to take away your life : to one you resign your crown, and to the other your mistress. I am too happy in the part you suffer me to take in the exercise of your virtues, and the accomplishment of your designs. To love you is a privilege to which no mortal ought to aspire ; and I place myself among the crowd of your admirers. For my part, I accept of prince Pemphos, whose merit I am not ignorant of ; and it shall depend upon my father's will to crown his constancy.

AT this instant the king, who, at coming out from the council, had been inform'd that the conservator was gone into the garden with the princess and her nurse, came to look for them. He communicated to Sethos and his daughter a letter which he receiv'd in council from the kings of Thebes and This. They advis'd him, that they were overjoy'd to find king Sethos had resolv'd to abdicate his crown, that he might with less suspicion continue in the dignity of conservator. That they were inclin'd to believe he had not renounc'd the throne of his forefathers to obtain by marriage the title of king of Tanis. That however, as king Spanius might have been inform'd of the birth of this prince, while disguis'd under a new name, during his sojourn at Tanis ; and, as a consequence of this discovery,


discovery, have had some thoughts of marrying him with his daughter ; they entreated him to consider the inconveniencies which might ensue, if the title of conservator of Egypt center'd in the person of a king of any one dynasty.

AT these words, without reading any farther, Spanius said to Sethos, That he was, beyond dispute, too much a friend to his country, to have any farther thoughts of an alliance which he had himself been pleas'd with. The princess answer'd first, That Sethos was come on purpose to disengage himself, and that their whole discourse had run upon that subject. Sethos immediately added, That he had commission from king Osoroth, and the king his son, to desire for prince Pemphos the honour of espousing the princess-queen : That he had with the greater pleasure accepted of this commission ; because the queen of Memphis being with child, remov'd the prince yet farther from any hopes of succession to this kingdom. Spanius answer'd, That as well his daughter, as he, would with joy accept of prince Pemphos ; and that, before Sethos came, he, of all the princess Mnevia's suitors, was the most agreeable to both of them. Sethos added, That the prince was at that time incognito in Tanis, because he would not appear in pub-

publick before he had obtain'd the king and princess's leave ; but that the submissive love he had for her, would not, however, let him wait the decision of his destiny at Memphis. Sethos soon sent for the prince, on whom this alliance was going to confer the title of prince-king : They kept him three whole days, to settle the articles of marriage with him.

As for Sethos, he took upon him to return instantly, to give the two kings of Memphis the answer they expected on the subject of his negotiation : but the real intent of his leaving Tanis so suddenly, was, to prevent interviews, which might be dangerous as well to himself as the princess, and which ceasing to be necessary, were no longer lawful. At his return to Memphis, after having inform'd the two kings and the queen of the agreeable news he brought, he went to visit a large palace adjoining to the temple, which he had caus'd to be fitted up before his departure. There it was he had plac'd the officers and domesticks dependant on his dignity, not forgetting the slave Asares. He had an apartment proper to receive, and even to entertain, the ambassadors that might be sent him, as in reality there were frequently in the sequel : for there having been no foreign war during the remainder of his life, he exercis'd his office of conservator,

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by adjusting several differences between the kings of Egypt, who had submitted them to his decision. He even receiv'd ambassadors from several more distant kings : And the king of Phœnicia thought himself oblig'd to come and thank him in person. Soon afterwards, Amedes, who had been sent for by king Beon himself, came to court : He gave an account, that prince Zoros, following the example of king Oforoth, had resign'd his dignity to his son ; and that the senate had consented to this abdication with great encomiums as well with regard to one as the other ; and that the princess Zarita, being daily more and more respected by the father and the son, was likewise become the wonder and the darling of the Carthaginians. As for Sethos, he retir'd to the priests, where the king his brother went almost daily to consult with him, in an outward apartment contiguous to another lesser and meaner, which he possess'd in the sacerdotal palace, as a right due to all initiates : but he never appear'd in any other place of the city but in this apartment to the inhabitants, and in his palace to strangers ; because he would not excite in the people any remembrance that might be of prejudice to the reigning king. Thus he was greater in his retirement, than by his discoveries and exploits.



F I N I S.